ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT TEAMSTERS STRIKE

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WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD,

UNITE!

MARXIST LENINIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

50¢

Vol 2, No 2

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY

1. Marxist-Leninists Unite!

THE STATE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The central tasks for all Marxist-Leninists, the key link in the revolutionary chain, is the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party Party building in the United States is fundamentally a question of *fusing the communist and workers' movement in the course of breaking ideologically, politically and organizationally with modern revisionism and all forms of opportunism*

While there is general unity on the central task, there are substantial differences on how the particularities of the nature of the task itself, how to carry it out, etc. Various organizations have put forward definite lines on uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced The comrades from the October League (ML) have advanced its November, 1975 plan to unite Marxist-Leninists The comrades from the Workers Congress have advanced their "Iskra plan " The comrades from the "Revolutionary Wing" have not yet put forward their views concisely on this question And the MLOC has begun to develop its line on joint theoretical and political work as the course for welding the core and establishing a center

This is a situation similar to that which the Comrades from the Communist Party of China characterized the international communist movement in 1963

> "A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement But however serious these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy " (CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, FLP, 1963, p 2)

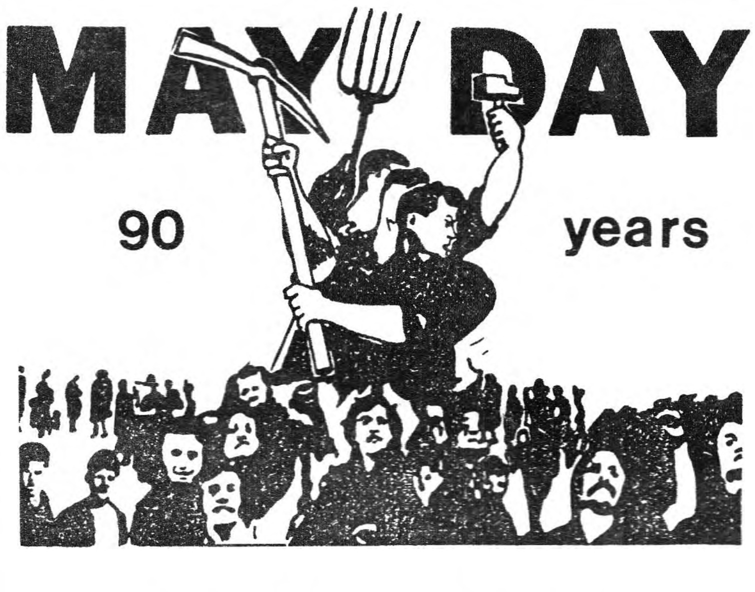
It is very important to clarify *'what kind of unity'* we are seeking in our struggle to reconstitute a vanguard communist party Everyone knows that the simple call for "unity" indicates little. As Engels stated some time ago, "One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity' Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout the loudest for unity "("Engels to Bebel, June 20, 1873", SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF MARX AND ENGELS, FLPH, Moscow, p 345)

The revisionist degeneration of the CPSU is the best illustration of what Engels was speaking about After they publically came out and attacked the CPC in 1963, they then made a storm about the need for "unity" Therefore we can recognize, and life confirms, that the struggle for unity is inseparably bound up with the struggle for Marxist-Leninist principle

In the course of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism from the late 1950s through the early 1960s by the Communist Party of CHina and the Party of Labor of Albania, definite clarity was shed on the nature of Marxist-Leninist unity

> "The unity of the proletariat requires is class unity, revolutionary unity, unity against the common enemy and for the great goal of communism. The unity of the international proletariat has its theoretical and political basis in Marxism-Leninism Only when it has theoretical and political unity can the international proletariat have organizational cohesion and unity of action
>
> The genuine revolutionary unity of the proletariat can be attained only by upholding principle and upholding Marxism-Leninism Unity bought by forsaking principles and by wallowing in the mire with opportunists ceases to be proletarian unity, instead, as Lenin said, it 'means in practice unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a *split* in the international proletariat, unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionists '"(THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, FLP, 1965, p 317)

"Proletarian unity must be materialist, in theory and in practice It must reflect concrete reality, not wishful dreaming *Proletarian unity must also*



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be dialectical, see things in their development, their motion, their coming into being and going out of being Unity is never eternal *Today, the key to Marxist-Leninist unity is correct political line*

The uneven development of the proletariat in its struggle for unity was recognized vividly by Engels,

> "The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development, at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance, and this alone explains why it is that actually the 'solidarity of the proletariat' is everywhere being realized in different party groupings, which carry on life and death feuds with one another." ("Engels to A Bebel, June 20, 1873", Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, FLPH, Moscow, p. 347)

The failure to advance with the concrete conditions, leads to splittism The greatest splitters of our time are the Soviet revisionists The right opportunist, revisionist nature of splittism has generally taken the form of exceptionalism Those that take the course of splittism are splitting from the proletariat and the broad masses, which seek genuine unity Every split in the communist movement is caused by the opportunist and revisionist opposition to and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism Opportunism of any shade, always acts against the interests of the vast majority of the workers

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF DISUNITY IN THE U.S. COMMUNIST MOVEMENT?

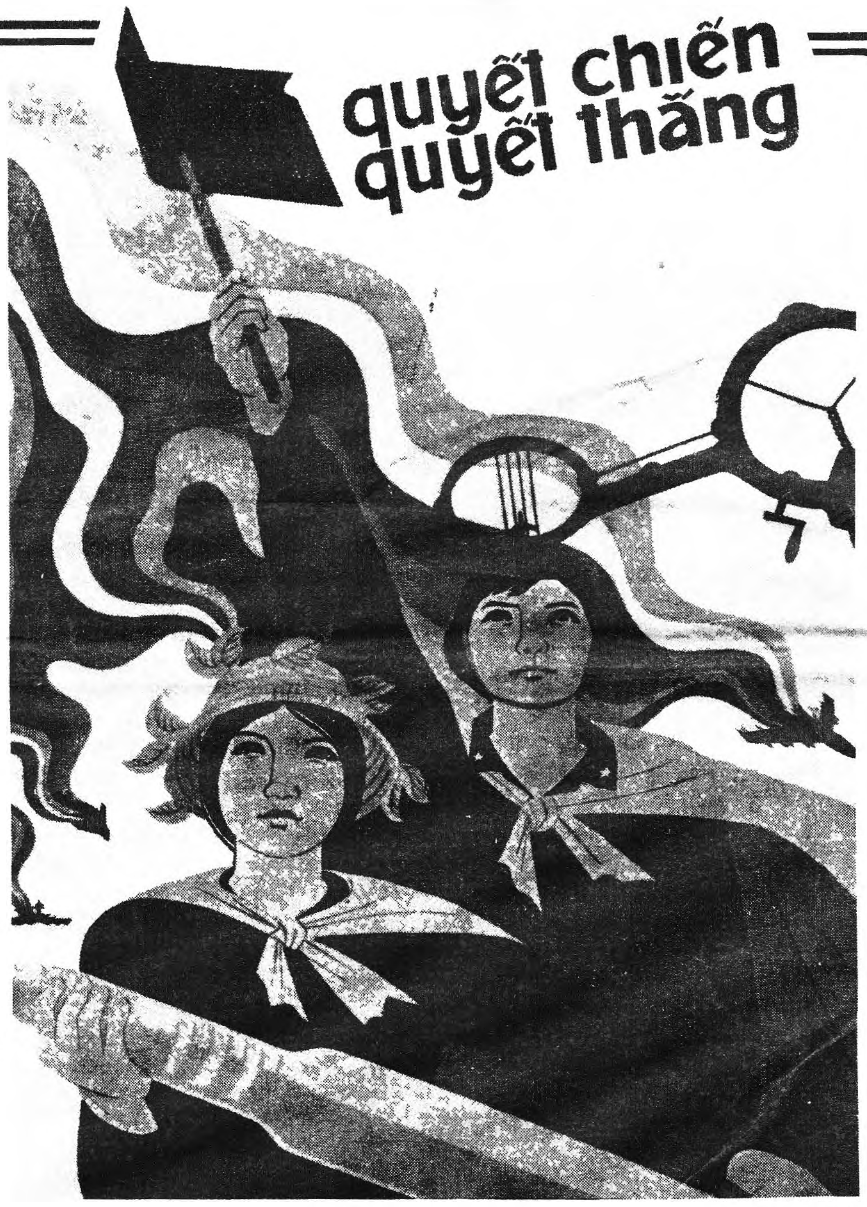
There must be no denying the significance of the ideological, political, and organizational differences that exist within the U S communist movement. Clearly there are two opposing lines on the nature of the international situation, party building, the national question (both the Black National Question and the Chicano National Question), the Woman Question, and other issues In essence, these two opposing lines represent two entirely different class stands, viewpoints and methods On the one hand is revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, on the other is modern revisionism

The view of the MLOC is that those who seek to unite on principle must exercise sufficient patience and find ways to seek to eliminate these differences, in order to strengthen the revolutionary forces against our common enemy

There is only one basis to conclude that such a struggle for unity cannot be conducted, and that is that these differences represent antagonistic contradictions between the people and thei enemies

"Striking with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt on April 17, 1975, the heroic South Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces liberated Saigon at one stroke in their victorious advance For the last more than ten years in particular, the South Vietnamese people, holding aloft President Ho Chi Minh's glorious banner of 'firm resolve to fight and win' and under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, waged a heroic and tenacious struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys and finally won a great victory in the war bringing into full play dauntless heroism and unswerving revolutionary spirit, persisting in independence, initiative and self-reliance, and persevering in protracted people's war (Vietnam's) illustrious merits will be recorded in the glorious history of the world's national-liberation struggle The new and rich experience of struggle it provides has great historical and international significance".

Similarly, "the Cambodian people's brilliant victory culminating in the liberation of Phnom Penh (and full liberation on April 17, 1975--ed) is of enormous significance It shows forcefully that the surging tide of revolution is thundering ahead in the world today, that gone are the days when the imperialists and reactionaries could do as they pleased If only the invaded and oppressed countries and peoples adhere to the correct road, dare to take up arms, advance wave upon wave and persist in fighting regardless of the sacrifice, they can defeat the imperialists and all reactionaries, despite the enemy's truculence and apparent strength With a population of only seven million, Cambodia defeated the US aggressors through five years of heroic fighting This is another convincing proof that the weak can defeat the strong and the small can defeat the big. The real strength lies in the people of all countries fighting for their just cause, not in imperialism and reaction Once a people awakens, gets united and perseveres in struggle, no reactionary force can halt their march forward " (From THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S GREAT VICTORY, FLP, 1975, p 27-8 and GREAT VICTORY OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE, FLP, 1975, p 28-9)



by Trang Sinh

Dare to struggle !

Dare to win !

2. Lessons From The International Communist Movement

Unity among Marxist-Leninists is paramount today Genuine unity is the decisive condition for successfully overcoming any obstacle, for advance toward new success We seek genuine unity, unity of thought and action, unity that will bear the heated test of class struggle against our own bourgeoisie Unity by which we will smash all revisionists', social-democrats', labor aristocrats' and trade union bureaucrats' schemes to undermine and destroy Marxist-Leninist unity

Building the vanguard communist party is a question of fusing the communist and workers' movements in the course of combat against opportunism, ideologically, politically and organizationally The unity of Marxist-Leninists is a fundamental condition for carrying out this fusion, for winning the advanced to communism The greater the unity of Marxist-Leninists, the greater the advances in winning the advanced to communism and fusing the communist and workers' movements.

The basic guiding light in our struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists was advanced in the 10th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China to practice Marxism and not revisionism, to unite and not to split, to be open and above board, not to intrigue and conspire

The history of the international communist movement demonstrates the correctness of this line, and offers many important lessons for the current conditions of our struggle in the U S Given the history of opportunism and modern revisionism in this country, the legacy of splitters and wreckers, the social basis of which is built upon the superprofits of imperialism, it is particularly important to study and apply the classic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the thought of Comrade Mao Tsetung, such historic documents as LONG LIVE LENINISM, WHENCE THE DIFFERENCES, THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE MOSCOW DECLARATIONS. In addition, comrades should pay extremely close attention to the recent issue of ALBANIA TODAY, Nov -Dec 1975

In the November-December 1975 issue of ALBANIA TODAY, the comrades from the Party of Labor of Albania issued several articles from Volume 19 of the works of Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania The availability of these documents for the first time in English provides a great opportunity for Marxist-Leninists in this country and around the world to deepen our understanding both of the international struggle against modern revisionism and of the correct Leninist organizational principles and norms which must govern relationships between Marxist-Leninists.

Volume 19 includes major documents from the period between the June 1960 Bucharest meeting and the November Moscow meeting of 81 Workers and Communist Parties In these brief months, the Party of Labor of Albania convened five full plenums of the Central Committee in order to prepare for the struggle against Soviet revisionism

The lessons contained in these historic documents shed brillant light on the history of revisionism in the Soviet Union and for the U S. communist movement the lesson of how to conduct principled struggle is clear.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism, which has always been a struggle between those who defend the unity of the proletariat and those who seek to split and divide the unity of the proletariat, is an outstanding thread in the entire history of the international communist movement This holds true both for particular countries and on the international plane.

Marx and Engels laid the greatest stone in the revolutionary foundation of the proletariat and laid a solid foundation for the ideological unity of the international proletariat Their call remains to this day the beacon of workers and oppressed people in every country of the world WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE'

STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The entire history of Marxism is marked by the emergence of its opposite, opportunism In COMMUNIST LINE #1, the MLOC attempted to trace in very brief form the contours of this struggle As Lenin put it, "this doctrine (of Marx) had to fight at every step in its course one battle after another against political stupidity, vulgarity, opportunism, etc.. "

All opportunists constitute a detachment of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement, a very important social prop for the bourgeoisie and imperialism Revisionism, will invariably appear in varying guises at different times so long as capitalism and imperialism exist *That is why the struggle against imperialism and opportunism must go hand in hand As the Moscow Declaration of 1957 pointed out, "the main danger at present is revisionism the existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source "*

Since the Second World War, modern revisionism has found fertile soil in the United States and Europe. First in the USA, with the liquidation of the CPUSA in 1944, next with Tito; and then at the tragic 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, in which for the first time in history, the oldest, most respected communist party in the world was turned into a platform to attack Marxism-Leninism and surrender to imperialist reaction

EXPOSE SOVIET REVISIONISTS

From 1963, a public open split in the international communist movement appeared Beginning in 1956, the Soviet revisionists sought to attack and distort Marxism-Leninism, sought to discredit, infiltrate and undermine the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labor of Albania

By June 1960, it became evident to the Communist Party of China that it was imperative that the bourgeois stand, viewpoint and method of the CPSU be opposed in the international arena of Marxism-Leninism Not to defend revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against Krushchevite revisionism would mean to play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and, therefore, damage the international cause of socialism and the international working class

By November, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor, 11 to 12 other parties adopted a correct position on some or all of the major questions at issue in the international communist movement From November 1960 in Moscow, the struggle against modern revisionism within the international communist movement took very sharp turns

In 1963, this struggle became a public question Since the heroic stand taken by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor, countless Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations have stood up to shoulder the task of exposing and defeating modern revisionism, both nationally and internationally

It was the Soviet revisionists who opened the struggle in the international communist movement to the public, not the Communist Party of China, nor the Albanian Party of Labor

In 1963, summing up this question, the Communist Party of China stated that,

> "In the circumstances, what can all true revolutionary Marxist-Leninists do but take up the challenge of the modern revisionists? With regard to differences and disputes on matters of principle, Marxist-Leninists have the duty to differentiate between truth and error and to straighten things out For the common interests of unity against the enemy, we have always stood for a solution through inter-Party consultation and against making the differences public in the face of the enemy.
>
> But since some people have insisted on making the dispute public, what alternative is there for us but to reply publicly to their challenge?" (Whence the Differences?, New Era, Bath, p 172)

Our Albanian and Chinese comrades recognized clearly that there is no basis of unity among Marxist-Leninists except with a common Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method. The struggle waged by the Party of Labor of Albania and the Chinese Communist Party is a model of a correct stand, viewpoint, and method toward all fundamental questions facing the international proletariat It represents the spirit of *genuine comradeship, equality and internationalism in the conduct of relations among Marxist-Leninists*

The battle waged against modern revisionism was on behalf not only of the Albanian and Chinese people, but the entire proletariat of the world. It is a treasurehouse of lessons As one detachment of the international communist movement, it is our obligation to dig deep into this treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism and learn all we can

3. The U.S. Communist Movement

Ever since that time, the unity of the international communist movement has become one of the most pressing questions of the international communist movement In the U S , since 1944 with the liquidation of the CPUSA, the question of uniting Marxist-Leninists has been the principal tactical task of our struggle to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party

There have been numerous efforts along these lines, including the Provisional Organizing Committee, Progressive Labor Party, the National Liason Committee and the Continuations Committee Each, while taking initial steps ideologically, failed to apply dialectical and historical materialism to the concrete conditions of the U S , and failed to learn the lessons of the international communist movement on the questions of correct Leninist principles which govern the relations among Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. Rather than uniting Marxist-Leninists, they turned out to be splitters from Marxism-Leninism

The most recent expression of the search for Marxist-Leninist unity has been the appearance of the "Revolutionary Wing" Originally this was presented to include Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, August Twenty-Ninth Movement, Workers Viewpoint Organization with various variations by particular

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organizations. Then PRRWO and ATM found unity with Revolutionary Workers League and "purged" the WVO. In addition, PRRWO has included the Revolutionary Bloc (a small group of people in New York which emerged out of the Black Workers Congress. They have not yet presented their political views on the struggle in the BWC, or their general line on any question for the public.

In addition to this, the WC(ML) states that there is a revolutionary trend that does exist, but has not come forward to specify who these comrades are, or their actual basis of unity.

UNITY REQUIRES LEADERSHIP

The question of unity based upon Marxist-Leninist principle is inseparable from the question of leadership. It is inevitable that our movement develop two opposing trends, genuine and sham. Genuine revolutionary leadership will be the basis for the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party, it must represent the most advanced, most dedicated and most seasoned sons and daughters of the working class- who recognize their historic responsibility to the international proletariat. *The concrete emergence of a revolutionary trend as a definite trend, with unity of will and unity of action, based upon a unified ideological, political and organizational line, must demonstrate in theory and in practice its actual ability to lead the revolutionary movement.*

The history of the revolutionary movement contains many episodes where forces have come forward confident that they alone were the genuine heirs to Marx and Engels. Lenin, ridiculing those who "crowed" and "cackled" over the mistakes of Bebel and Rosa Luxembourg, replied,

> *"Sometimes eagles may fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles." (Lenin, CW, Vol* 33, *p 210)*

Who are the eagles and who are the hens will not be determined by pronouncements, but by the masses in the heat of the class struggle. It is the revolutionary masses themselves who will determine who constitutes the genuine vanguard leadership of the working class, and it is the masses, not a minority, not the communist party, which will seize state power and forge a new socialist order. As Comrade Hoxha states, "socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them conscious."

From the outset, the MLOC has sought to seriously take up the question of uniting Marxist-Leninists. Growing out of the struggle and split in the former BWC, we learned many lessons about how not to unite, and the tactics and maneuvers of the splitters. Therefore, in carrying on our relations among Marxist-Leninists, we are guided by the same principles that guide the international communist movement. These are conscious principles, which are presented to parties and organizations as the basis of carrying on principled relations. History has proven, particularly in this country, that things do not happen spontaneously. *Correct relations requires correct principle as a guide to action.*

WHO ARE THE EAGLES? WHO ARE THE HENS?

It is not hard, living in the heartland of U.S. imperialism, one of the two superpowers, to confuse the hens with the eagles. The outlook of bourgeois ideology, the outlook of a superpower, is part of the baggage that all Marxist-Leninists must consciously struggle to discard. This too, is not a spontaneous struggle. *In its early development, the MLOC also thought that because it had gotten off the ground, it was amongst the company of eagles. Certain incorrect views were advanced on the question of uniting Marxist-Leninists, reflecting an idealist approach to the history of the U.S. communist movement in recent years, views which belittled the struggle that had been waged against opportunism, and overestimated the achievements of the MLOC. We proceeded, not from what was real, but what we thought possible.* From this we have begun to try and root out the subjectivism and arrogance which leads to confusing hens from eagles. While we believe we have a relatively correct line, we recognize that what has been accomplished, is only a fraction of what remains to be achieved.

The MLOC recognizes that it is a *pre-party organization.* Its life and reason for existence is to contribute toward the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party, to serve the revolutionary needs of the U.S. masses, and the international proletariat. Therefore, we must conduct our relations amongst Marxist-Leninists within the U.S., on the same basis of principle that is required amongst Marxist-Leninists internationally. Only in this way can we prepare ourselves to take our rightful role as a detachment of the international communist movement, carrying out our historic mission of smashing the existing bourgeois dictatorship and replacing it with a dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Principles Of Bolshevik Unity

(1) THE PRINCIPLE OF ALWAYS SEEKING TO UNITE, NOT TO SPLIT

The purpose of relations among Marxist-Leninists is to seek unity in order to wage a common struggle against imperialism. Correct relations must be initiated and carried out in a manner designed to achieve unity, and resolve contradictions, they must not be one-sided. Correct relations among Marxist-Leninists is a function of the proper working of democratic centralism.

This requires the frank and honest exchange of opinions in order to identify a common political and organizational line.

-We must always adopt the attitude of being careful, cautious, just and never hasty. The course of unity is a protracted and difficult struggle in the U.S., given the depth of bourgeois ideology and the substantial social basis for opportunism.

-We must spare no effort to try and clear up difficulties, not to ignore them, and allow them to become worse through neglect.

-All preparations for such bilateral or multi-lateral meetings must always observe the principle of prior consultations, adequate notice always provided, response made to all communications and proposals without delay, all in order to create an atmosphere of comradely struggle toward unity. All actions which deter or belittle the struggle to unite, cannot be considered principled.

-Judgements or condemnations of other organizations ("they are in the opportunist wing...") must be made on the basis of struggle. Such views should always be presented to the organization first for struggle. It is completely incorrect to issue such a statement without the most thorough explanation of the basis for such a statement, and only after all efforts at resolutions of contradictions have been made.

It is completely incorrect to break or stop organizational relationships, to deny joint action, while struggle over differences is being conducted.

Such action objectively recognizes the differences among Marxist-Leninists as greater than the differences with the bourgeoisie.

The international communist movement demonstrates that principled unity is a precious and valuable goal, without which we cannot hope to conquer the bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that, directly after the Soviet 20th Party Congress, the Albanian comrades recognized that "all the attacks of the

> imperialist and revisionist enemies were concentrated on splitting the unity of our movement. Therefore, for the sake of this unity, we had to contain ourselves and consistently apply the Marxist-Leninist line, while avoiding open criticism addressed to the Soviet leadership." (Albania Today, Nov-Dec 1975, p 36)

While the Communist Party of China began, privately, to offer criticism to the CPSU, it was not until 1960, that this was opened to the entire communist movement, and not until 1963 that this became a matter of public record.

In the entire history of the closed and open polemics carried on between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, these polemics always reflected an extremely principled approach, never took a ruthless or condescending tone, never utilized abusive language, and took every possible effort to attempt to resolve these contradictions between the parties involved, then among Marxist-Leninist parties on the international arenas, and then, and only then, failing resolution of these contradictions, the interests of the international proletariat dictated that these differences become matters of public record.

(2) THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY

Equality among Marxist-Leninists is a fundamental principle guiding correct relations. Regardless of size, previous achievements or past records, Marxist-Leninists sit down together as equals. No one waves a baton over the others. Without strict equality among Marxist-Leninists, genuine unity cannot be achieved.

Equality requires that

-All parties operate on the basis of prior consultation on a bilateral manner, not open and public comments and attacks against each other. There is no room for surprise attacks. Differences are not a matter of pragmatism, but questions to be struggled out on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle, and no other criteria.

-There is no room for offensive language, slander, insinuations or the like.

-There can be no element of scorn or looking down upon other comrades. As the Albanians put it, "when you have scorn

> for the cadres subordinate to you, you will have a similar concept also of those with whom you are on a par..." (ibid, p 21)

-Equality among Marxist-Leninists is the basis for the unity of Marxist-Leninists and the working class as a whole in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. All Marxist-Leninist relations must recognize the confidentiality of discussions, not to be disclosed to any third party except by mutual agreement.

A correct stand toward this question must recognize the true nature of bourgeois democracy and fascist rule, and take proper precautions in this light. Any tendency which belittles the violence and nature of the bourgeois dictatorship, which breeds loose and undisciplined behavior, undermines the genuine basis for unity amongst Marxist-Leninists.

(3) THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE

The independence and initiative of Marxist-Leninist organizations in the U.S., as world-wide, is based upon the recognition of the uneven development of things, and the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge

In the U.S., in a pre-party situation, "independence" cannot mean the independence from party building, the seeking of some small local circle. In the near future, with the recognition of a vanguard communist party, the call for organizational independence will mean independence from Marxism-Leninism

In the current situation, all organizations must maintain their own independence and initiative while at the same time consciously pursuing the course of unity. Organizations must carry out their own work, develop their ideological, political and organizational line on the basis both of perceptual and cognitive knowledge Yet this must be done in the course of seeking unity

For example, the MLOC seeks to establish *joint theoretical and political work* on numerous questions, with all genuine revolutionary forces, large or small. Genuine unity is not the result of discussion between organizations, but first and foremost the result of common work, criticism and self-criticism Common work must be systematic and consistent, not irregular and infrequent For this reason, we seek to establish a definite agenda of theoretical tasks with comradely organizations and individuals, as well as political work on certain fronts of the class struggle This work is then summed up, and the struggle for unity is raised to a higher level, until ideological, political and organizational unity is achieved, or the impossibility of this recognized by both parties

At the same time, we develop work in a consistent and disciplined manner

But our objective is to advance positions and carry out political work on the basis of collaboration with other Marxist-Leninists It is our view that it is much better to seek a joint theoretical statement on an important question, than to encourage each and every group and collective to do their own theoretical work

While Marxist-Leninists in this country must speak directly to the concrete conditions of the class struggle here, we must heighten our efforts to learn from the international experience of the proletariat and other Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations As Comrade Hoxha stated,

> "The experience of every party is a great treasure for all and it must be exploited by all."

And lastly, independence requires the complete non-interference in the internal affairs of other organizations and parties

(4) THE PRINCIPLE OF CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM

Criticism and self-criticism is the means by which Marxist-Leninists resolve contradictions, and is one of the most important principles governing correct relations among Marxist-Leninists.

The basis for sound Marxist-Leninist criticism was outlined by Comrade Ramiz Alia in describing the struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania against Khrushchevite revisionism, *"to come out openly and publically denounce the ideological platform and political line of Khrushchevites required, first and foremost, sound Marxist-Leninist convictions, profound knowledge of the situation, great ideological, theoretical abilities to analyze the events and phenomena of the time in a scientific way and to see the perspective clearly "* (ibid, p 53)

Comrades should carefully consider and apply the basis outlined by our Albanian comrades for criticism Only criticism based upon this foundation serves the interests of unity

> "Criticism serves the consolidation of unity, it is a motive force, a law of development " (ibid, p. 37)

Genuine Marxist-Leninist criticism is a scientific weapon in combat against all deviations and distortions from Marxism-Leninism.

Our entire approach toward criticism must be, on the one hand, to always practice Marxism and not revisionism, to resolutely defend Marxist-Leninist principle on all occasions, to look the truth straight in the eye and not be afraid of it. On the other hand, we must learn from the lessons of the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China, that there are definitely times when criticisms are deserved, but correct conduct requires patience and silence. There were many times when the Chinese and Albanian comrades had to grit their teeth. Criticism is never presented in the manner of "ruthless blows", but in order to resolve contradictions

-Criticism must be presented at the proper time, in the proper manner, with the proper attitude. Criticism must not be confused with accusations and political acrobatics

-We must learn both how to conduct private struggle and consultation, such as existed between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union up until 1963, and the open polemics and criticism which developed after 1963

-In presenting criticism, we must also be good at receiving criticism, and conducting self-criticism They are inseparable

The Marxist-Leninist attitude toward criticism is clearly revealed in the writings of our Albanian comrades. As Comrade Hoxha stated in 1960 in regard to the attacks launched against the Party of Labor of Albania by the CPSU,

> "we must be very careful, very cautious, must thoroughly analyze all the causes of the mistakes this communist has made, must strive to convince him of his mistakes, take his case to the basic organization or to the appropriate forum of the Party, where the case should be examined with the greatest objectivity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, aiming at the attainment of a single end, the improvement of this communist and putting him on the right road If we make such great efforts in order to analyze the mistakes of one communist and save him from these mistakes, then it is self-evident what great efforts should have been made before 'exchanging opinions about the mistakes of a party' at an international communist meeting, such as the Bucharest meeting. But this, unfortunately was not done." (ibid, p. 14)

This passage clearly illustrates the caution and principal considerations which must be exercised before launching open and public criticism of other Marxist-Leninists.

5.The Current Situation

In this presentation we have further developed the views of the MLOC on uniting Marxist-Leninists The four principles outlined have proven themselves over the last year to serve the cause of genuine proletarian unity. At the same time, we have seen that those comrades who choose to ignore such principle, pursue the course of splittism and sectarianism

The great class struggles, which are surging through the international working class and the international communist movement are a sign of the developing favorable conditions for the broad masses of the world. The nature of our epoch remains unchanged Revolution is the main trend in the world today. Though the factors for both war and revolution are increasing, our epoch is the epoch of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism

In this context, many comrades and friends have asked us to comment upon the emergence of the "Revolutionary Wing." We have stated on other occasions that no organization or group of organizations, including the MLOC, has proven itself in practice nor in its theoretical presentations to offer genuine leadership to the movement as a whole. A definite revolutionary trend must lead in reality, not merely claim to lead. It must offer leadership to the revolutionary movement as a whole, not one section or one geographical area. It must offer genuine multi-national leadership This leadership must become a compass which guides the struggle of the masses in its conquest of state power, leadership which constitutes a center upon which a vanguard communist party will be built *This is Bolshevik leadership, tied deeply with the masses, rooted at the point of production, organized on the basis of factory nuclei, with a regular and consistent press*

To be genuine, this leadership must be actively struggling to lead the struggles of all oppressed nations in the U S and oppressed minorities In particular, it must be active in the struggle to provide proletarian leadership to the Black masses of the Black Nation, and be rooted in the Black Nation

To deepen our understanding of the views of the Revolutionary Wing, and for the development of the entire communist and workers movement, we would ask that the Revolutionary Wing come forward and clarify certain questions about their ideological and political line, questions which cadre and friends around the country have asked themselves about the Wing·

(1) What has been the history and development of the Revolutionary Wing? How did it emerge? What are the exact bonds of principle which hold the Wing together?

(2) Who do comrades think determines the genuine leadership for the toiling masses of any country? If it is the masses themselves, then upon what basis have comrades concluded that they represent the vanguard leadership of our movement?

(3) All comrades in the Wing have stated that "political line is the key link" We would like comrades to explain how, if this is the case, comrades in the Wing have diametrically opposed views on at least two fundamental questions The international situation and the Black National Question Without unity of will on these two questions unity of action is impossible. The two opposing lines on the international situation reflect different, and opposing views on the nature of the epoch, the class which occupies the central role in the epoch, etc How can there be unity with comrades who have different views on these and similar questions?

(4) Comrades from the Wing state that the heart of the unity of the Wing is the question of ones' attitude toward criticism and self-criticism. Is not this an ideological question?

(5) One organization, for instance, the Revolutionary Workers League, in their Principles of Unity statement, mentions the great teachers, and makes no reference to Stalin. How can there be a united Wing when there are different views on such a fundamental question? While comrades from the RWL state that they are repudiating this line, this has been several months in coming, the Principles of Unity is still sold at public meetings, and not once in any public

meeting, that we are aware of, in any part of the country, has RWL conducted a self-criticism of a question so fundamental to the entire international communist movement

These are but a few questions that many comrades and friends around the country have posed, and is not meant to be exhaustive.

We believe that as soon as the "Revolutionary Wing" can come forward and clarify, as a wing, their unity of will and unity of action on the pressing questions of our revolution, the greater will be their contribution to such a statement as an advance for the struggle to reconstitute a communist party

(6) What are the concrete plans of the Revolutionary Wing to build a vanguard party? How do they see this happening, step by step? Without such clarity, how can comrades offer unity or leadership to the movement as a whole?

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the MLOC has taken the opportunity to study very carefully the experience of the international proletariat on the questions of unity and splitters The leaders of the CPSU internationally are the greatest splitters of modern times In the U S , the CPUSA takes its proper place with the CPSU The history of opportunism in this country has produced a situation where there are now several genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations, and numerous collectives and individuals all over the country. These elements must be welded into a single core, a multinational core, fused with the advanced and capable of leading and uniting the masses in class struggle against our common enemy

In the next period ahead, genuine unity will only be achieved on the basis of correct political line, principled persistent struggle, pursued with sufficient patience, seeking to eliminate differences by drawing lines of demarcation between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism

In the course of principled struggle the hens will be sorted out from the eagles When reaching for the heights, comrades had better be certain that their wings are tested and their navigation sound

The MLOC is confident that we will unite with other genuine forces and reconstitute a vanguard communist party We also recognize that there may well be several parties in the immediate period ahead. This is not an unusual situation, and exists in several European countries

However, so long as more than one center exists, the seizure of state power is impossible Stalin stated clearly that

> "If the workers are able to achieve victory, they must be inspired by a single will, they must be led by a single party, which enjoys the indubitable confidence of the majority of the working class " (Stalin, Vol, 17, p 36)

More than not, there will be a period ahead in which several parties exist, and that it will take considerable struggle by the masses themselves before this question is resolved As Lenin stated,

> "Socialism cannot be established by a minority, by the Party It is established by the tens of millions of people, when they learn to do this work themselves We see our merit in the fact that we are trying to help the masses to get down to this job themselves immediately, and this is something that cannot be learned from books " (Enver Hoxha, Socialism is Built by the Masses, the Party Makes Them Conscious, Tirana, 1972, p 4

The stand of Marxist-Leninists toward the question of the relation of the party to the masses is very important, for it reflects ones attitude toward the masses, and who will determine the course of world history

It is for this reason that Marxist-Leninists pursue patient, cautious, just methods of struggle, sometimes private, sometimes open The principled approach to unity is pursued out of responsibility to the masses Anyone who does not pursue correct Leninist norms to govern the relations among Marxist-Leninists does not take the enemy seriously, nor themselves

In closing, we would call attention to remarks made by Comrade Dimitrov in his Preface to The Life of Ernst Thaelmann. In these remarks comrade Dimitrov reflects the best and highest aspirations of the international proletariat, the star to which we all must hitch our wagon

A TRUE REVOLUTIONARY AND PROLETARIAN FIGHTER IS FORMED IN THE FIRE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND BY MAKING MARXISM-LENINISM HIS OWN

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE A REVOLUTIONARY TEMPERAMENT ONE HAS TO UNDERSTAND HOW TO HANDLE THE WEAPON OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO KNOW THEORY- ONE MUST ALSO FORGE ONESELF A STRONG CHARACTER WITH BOLSHEVIK STEADFASTNESS

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO KNOW WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE- ONE MUST ALSO HAVE THE COURAGE TO CARRY IT OUT

ONE MUST ALWAYS BE READY TO DO ANYTHING, AT ANY COST, WHICH IS OF REAL SERVICE TO THE WORKING CLASS

ONE MUST BE CAPABLE OF SUBORDINATING ONES WHOLE PERSONAL LIFE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT.

★

V.I. LENIN

APRIL 22, 1870 - JANUARY 22, 1924

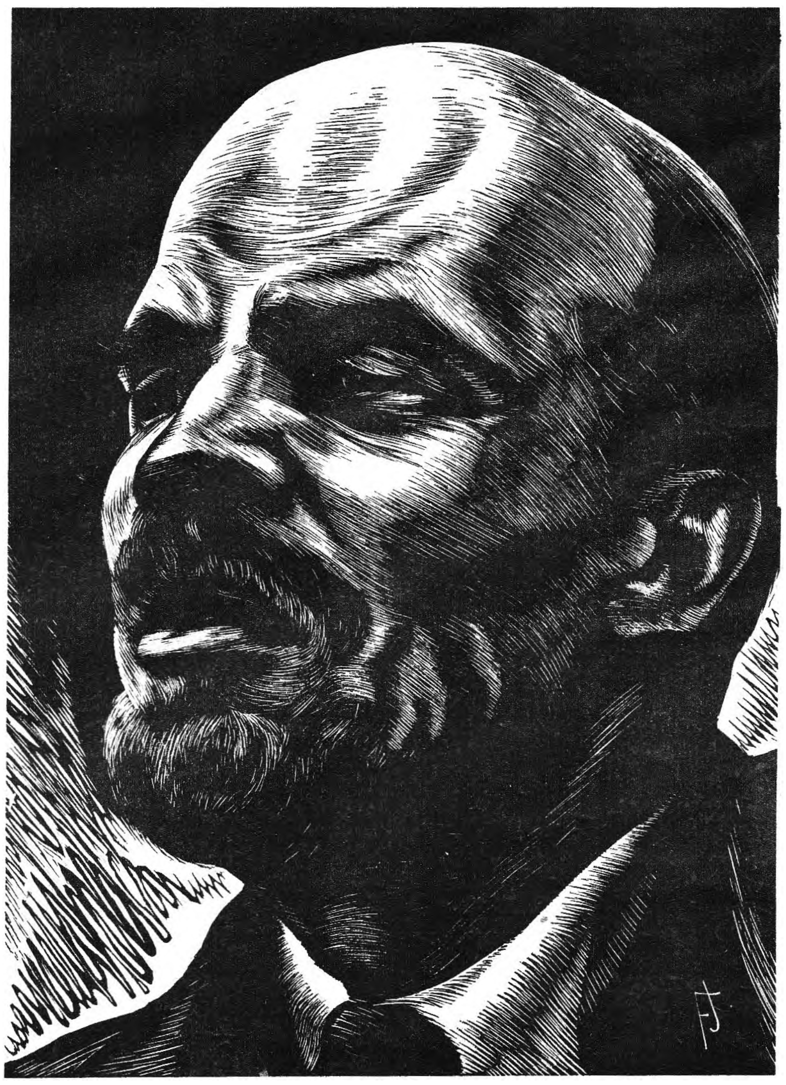
REMEMBER, LOVE AND STUDY LENIN, OUR TEACHER AND LEADER.

FIGHT AND VANQUISH THE ENEMIES, INTERNAL AND FOREIGN - AS LENIN TAUGHT US.

BUILD THE NEW LIFE, THE NEW EXISTENCE, THE NEW CULTURE - AS LENIN TAUGHT US.

NEVER REFUSE TO DO THE LITTLE THINGS, FOR FROM LITTLE THINGS ARE BUILT THE BIG THINGS - THIS IS ONE OF LENIN'S IMPORTANT BEHESTS.

J. Stalin



May First - The Traditional Day of Proletarian Political Action

THIS YEAR IS THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST MAY DAY, THE FIRST GENERAL STRIKE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR SAY IT WAS KARL MARX, AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL IN 1866 WHO FIRST PUT FORWARD THE DEMAND FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD THESE ARE THE ROOTS FOR MAY DAY DESCRIBED IN THESE TWO REPRINTS FROM THE COMMUNIST THE VERNE SMITH ARTICLE FROM MAY, 1931 AND THE BILL DUNNE ARTICLE FROM MAY, 1934 IT IS A DAY, AS COMRADE LENIN WROTE FROM PRISON ON MAY DAY IN 1896, THAT "WE SEND OUR BEST WISHES TO OUR BROTHERS IN OTHER LANDS THAT THEIR STRUGGLE SHOULD QUICKLY LEAD THEM TO THE DESIRED VICTORY, TO THE TIME WHEN THERE SHALL BE NEITHER MASTERS NOR SLAVES, NEITHER WORKERS NOR CAPITALISTS, BUT ALL ALIKE WILL WORK AND ALL ALIKE SHALL ENJOY LIFE

COMRADES' IF WE WILL ENERGETICALLY AND WHOLE HEARTEDLY STRIVE TO UNITE, THE TIME WILL NOT BE FAR DISTANT WHEN WE, HAVING JOINED OUR FORCES IN SOLID RANKS, WILL BE ABLE OPENLY TO UNITE IN THIS COMMON STRUGGLE OF WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF RACE OR CREED, AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WHOLE WORLD AND OUR SINEWY ARM WILL BE LIFTED ON HIGH AND THE INFAMOUS CHAINS OF BONDAGE WILL FALL ASUNDER "

The American Background of May Day

By VERNE SMITH

OF ALL the international days of demonstration, the oldest, perhaps the most significant, the one that foreshadows all the rest, is the First of May—and fittingly enough it is the one most clearly and openly against the capitalist system as such, though it invariably carries with it the struggle against whatever grievance is uppermost in workers' minds at the same time

As a matter of fact, it began that way—in America, with a general strike for the eight-hour day The international aspect was recognized at a world congress of workers, in Paris, three years later

The first international celebration of the First of May as Labor Day came still another year later, 1890, and was in support of what was to have been the second general strike of American workers for the eight-hour day

The workers who conducted that first May Day demonstration are the immediate fathers of the working class of today The organizations, the American Federation of Labor and the Second International, which were most closely involved, are still with us Both have now betrayed the First of May The A F of L, at least, was betraying it at the time of the first demonstration

There are many lessons in the history of the First of May Some of the strategy which the A F of L has used ever since was devised at the period of the two main eight-hour strikes

Formally the A F of L led the first eight-hour-day general strike of 1886—a fact which must be surprising enough to many workers but is easier to understand as the incidents of the time are more closely examined Formally (and in fact he seemed at times to boast of it) Gompers started the train of events that led to the 1886 strike Actually he was carrying out a complicated maneuver that has been imitated many times since by A F of L leaders

In his own autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor,* Gompers boasts that he also proposed the international celebration of May First in 1890 There is at least considerable doubt about this

Before 1886 even the A F of L was celebrating the "Labor Day" it recognizes now—the first Monday in September That is the day given to Labor by the legislatures of the various states It is, as Danel De Leon pointed out years ago, a kind of grand prize-stock show, in which the A F of L leaders parade the "voting cattle" they hope to sell to the highest bidder among the capitalist parties on election day, approximately two months later

In 1885, the Chicago Anarchists were demonstrating against the A F of L and other reactionary unions, on the official A F of L "Labor Day" before a May 1 world demonstration was thought of

It is to the Chicago Anarchists (actually not anarchists at all—direct action or non-parliamentary socialists would be a better name for them) that we owe the main basic agitation for a general strike for the eight-hour day The working class in the early '80's of last century was in rebellious mood, ready for revolt and waiting for the zero hour The eight-hour-day fight was in the air There had been a succession of great strikes the Fall River textile workers' strike of 1884, 5,000 out for 18 weeks, lost, the Hocking Valley Coal strike, the same year, six months long, with evictions and Pinkerton detectives and the militia finally smashing it, the Saginaw Valley lumber workers' strike in 1885, 5,500 strong, two months, won, four great railroad strikes on the Gould lines in 1884 and 1885, the first being won and the last one lost, betrayed by the Knights of Labor There were cigarmakers' strikes and stove mounters' strikes and all kinds of strikes in this period—lots of struggle There were boycotts and "striking on the job" It was also a period of depression, and there was a wave of wage cuts

During this period, and in spite of occasional open treacheries, the Knights of Labor was forced into leadership, and got much credit It was gaining members It had 42,517 members in 1882, 51,914 in 1883, after which the membership rose too rapidly for accurate counting to about 700,000 in 1886

The A F of L claimed 100,000 in 1884, but its national convention attendance showed a steady weakening The first convention, which formed the A F of L, or, to be exact, the organization which afterwards, in 1886, became the A F of L, the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada," was held in 1881 with 104 delegates The 1882 convention of the federation had 19 delegates, the 1883 delegation had 27, but the 1884 convention, in Chicago, at which the famous May 1 resolution was passed, had only 25

Gompers, chief founder of the federation, a practical politician and a most treacherous one, proceeded to capitalize the strike sentiment, indeed, he had to do something to keep his organization to the front With his blessing a resolution was introduced in the 1884 convention of the federation reading as follows:

> "Resolved, by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named "

Now, that might mean a call to strike on May 1, 1886, for the eight-hour day If the working class so accepted it, the A F of L got the credit for calling the strike and all the glory If something went wrong, Gompers could disavow the strike call—saying it meant nothing of the sort, at least not a general strike

The working class did accept this as a call to strike on May 1 They put their own interpretation on the resolution The national unions in the federation were quite indifferent to the call to strike Only the cigar makers and carpenters had even voted to support such a strike financially when the 1885 convention was held, with only 18 delegates Still, the 1885 convention did not repeal the resolution That was not Gompers' way, and it was no part of the A F of L tactics from that time on when faced with a militant working class sentiment

Powderly and the other bureaucrats of the Knights of Labor did dare openly to fight against the will of the workers to struggle, and it was disastrous to the Knights of Labor Powderly sent out one of his famous "secret orders," a circular to affiliated bodies, which instructed them to oppose the strike for eight hours Powderly, like some later misleaders, notably the Trotskyists, brought out at this time an argument now known as "Right opportunism concealed by left phrases," a classic example of that sort of opportunism He said 'To talk of reducing the hours of labor without reducing the power of the machinery to oppress instead of to benefit, is a waste of energy What men gain through a reduction of hours will be taken from them in another way while the rule of iron continues The advocate of the eight-hour system must go beyond the reduction of the number of hours a man must work, and must labor for the establishment of a just and humane system of land ownership, control of machinery, railroads and telegraphs as well as equitable currency system " etc, in fact, nothing but the revolution will help (Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor,* requoted from Bimba) This "secret" circular became public, this treason was used to great advantage by the A F of L in its attack on the K of L, which practically vanished a few years after 1886

As all the world knows, the general strike took place, centering in Chicago, where the propaganda of the so-called "Anarchists" was strongest And this strike was drenched in the blood of Haymarket, and the hanging of the leaders of the working class Both Gompers and Powderly and their henchmen betrayed and repudiated the leaders on trial and afterwards, Gompers records that he regarded the Haymarket affair as "a catastrophe, halting our eight-hour-day program " He tells how, three years later, when the second May First strike was being agitated, he sent circulars to the President of the United States, the cabinet, 40 senators, and 75 representatives, assuring them that there was no radicalism in this move, and "to forestall any association of the movement with the anarchistic influences "

The May First strike of 1886 involved nearly half a million workers, and some 200,000 won a shorter work day It made the A F of L the dominant labor organization in the United States, the K of L discredited by opposition to the strike, and the Anarchists deserted, isolated, and crushed by the terror

Then began inevitably the second drive for the shorter work day, especially as while the A F of L was resting on its laurels, the employers began to take back the concessions that had been forced from them

Gompers was against further struggle In 1887 in Brooklyn, he struck a keynote that has resounded since in A F of L presidential speeches

> " with fairness on the part of the employer there is no desire to strike on the part of the men we are opposed to sympathetic and foolish strikes" (*Seventy Years*, p 286)

Observe in what followed, the strategy of Gompers, and of the A F of L bureaucracy It had apparently led a fight for the workers, and was recognized as a leader It was as treacherous as the K of L gang, but infinitely wiser

A new wave of separate craft strikes swept the country in 1887 and 1888 Nothing could stand against this determination to struggle, but it might be diverted into relatively harmless channels, to the advantage of treacherous leaders At the St Louis convention of the A F of L , in 1888, a motion was put through, this time for a general strike for the eight-hour day in 1890, on May First The date was made significant by the glorious year of 1886 Gompers utilized the necessity of agitation and propaganda for this strike to put in the field the first crew of paid general organizers—forerunners of the McGrady's of a later day

Through this machine, as through a radio hook-up, Gompers began in 1889 to spread pessimism—"Not ready yet " The convention of 1889 announced a wonderful new tactic Instead of all striking at once, one union was to strike first, all the rest supporting it with finances, then another union, then others This was the first step in open misleadership of the movement Gompers also, as in the period of preparation for 1886, negotiated as many contracts as possible for the formal granting of the eight-hour day, in return for other concessions, such as no demands for more wages This was to limit the force and scope of the strike The carpenters did strike, and in general won their strike But that was only one union The miners were too weak to strike, the other unions having conveniently forgotten about financing them The miners' strike was postponed until the next year, because "it was too late" that year In the 1891 convention the bakers asked to take the place of the miners, but by this time the fine enthusiasm of the workers was being dissipated by these tactics The A F of L convention of 1891 felt itself strong enough to refuse to go on with the scheme, and the 1892 convention "was satisfied with issuing instructions to the executive council to carry on agitation for the eight-hour day " (Bimba, *History of the American Working Class*, p 213)

Here is an organized system of tactics of betrayal—in fact, a whole strategy! Consider its use in the upholsterers' strike this year in Kensington, Pa , in the Elizabethton strike in 1929, in the hosiery strikes When the spirit of the workers rises too high to buck directly, the accomplished misleader places himself at the head of the movement, but finds a way to delay, to split the efforts, to interpose legalistic obstacles, jurisdictional difficulties, and finally, when the workers are worn down, torn with doubt and carefully cultivated pessimism, the misleader can come out openly and smash the bolder ones who remain true to the original plan To be sure, in these later days, the A F of L officialdom feels able by its alliance with the government and the employers, and in the absence of other organizations of great strength, simply to refuse the right to strike and offer to supply scabs if there is an outlaw strike Lewis and Boylan simply denounced the strike of 25,000 Glen Alden anthracite miners this year But the little fakers in the miners' general grievance committee, whose position is not so good —they use the old tactics of 1890, they take the lead of the action which they cannot prevent, then they delay, maneuver, dissuade, divide, discourage and eventually completely betray

But the strike of 1886, and the first agitation for the strike in 1890, the first and second May Days, as we know May Day, rang round the world It was a foregone conclusion that the International Workingmen's Congress, which met in Paris, July 14 to 20, 1889, would take up the matter This congress re-established the socialist international, creating the Second International, the First International having come to an end in 1876 (It died in Philadelphia, by the way, another American angle)

This Paris congress of 1889 passed a resolution which made the May First demonstrations a formal, international anniversary The resolution was introduced by the French delegation, which numbered 291 out of a congress of some 400 delegates from 26 countries The minutes of the congress, as brought to Germany and published in 1890 by Wilhelm Liebknecht, record under the date of July 20

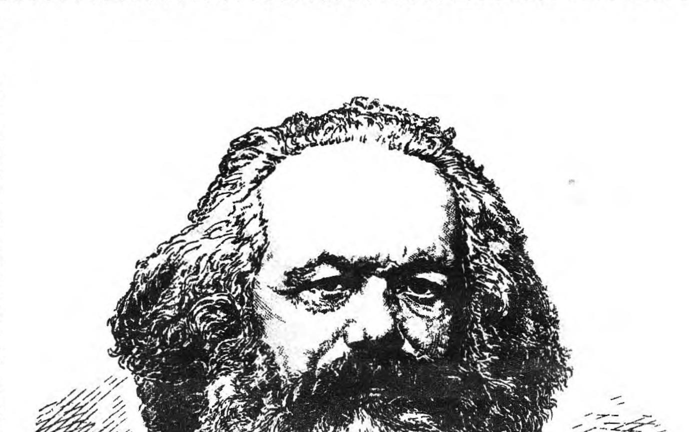
> "Citizen Levine then brought in, in the name of the National Association of Councils of French Unions and Cooperative Groups, a proposition for a great demonstration which the decision of the congress would help to carry through
>
> "The motion read 'The Congress decides to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand of the state authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, this day is accepted for the international demonstration The workers of the various countries must organize this demonstration according to the conditions prevailing in each industry ' "

There are two stories as to how this resolution came to be introduced

Gompers, writing his memoirs quite recently, but with the light of the world war shining from every line, gives one version

> "As plans of the eight hour movement developed, we were constantly realizing how we could widen our purpose As the time for the meeting of the International Workingmen's Congress in Paris (July 14, 1889) approached, it occured to me that we could aid our movement by an expression of world wide sympathy from that congress
>
> "I talked the idea over with Hugh McGregor who was idealist enough to recognize no practical difficulties The margin of time intervening was too small to trust a letter of invitation to the mail, so McGregor agreed to act as special courier His wants were few and accustomed to all kinds of delays in gratification We discovered that a boat was leaving within a brief time that would just get him to Paris in time McGregor went off to pack his bag with a few things, including a reserve celluloid collar Meanwhile I was to write a letter of official invitation and to meet him at the dock I wrote by hand a letter that seemed to be to be fraught with historic import, and then hurried to the dock to put it in McGregor's custody A number of labor men had learned of the trip They hailed me afar, for the boat was on the point of leaving I thrust the letter in McGregor's hand and joined the farewell shout
>
> "A moment afterwards I recollected that in my hurry I had failed to make a press copy of the letter Though I tried in many ways to get a copy of that letter, I did not succeed It is the only important official letter of which I did not retain a copy Later I made unsuccessful efforts to obtain a copy through French friends
>
> "My letter informed the Paris congress of our American efforts to celebrate the coming May Day by establishing eight hours for the carpenters and urged them to co-operate The proposal fell upon the ears of two bitterly warring factions The German delegation, headed by Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer, opposed the resolution on the ground that under the imperial German government it would be suicide for them to approve the movement Herr Liebknecht emphatically opposed the proposal on the ground that labor organizations were not strong enough to succeed in the undertaking Eventually a resolution for an eight hour demonstration in every country was adopted, and there was pretty general observance of the day That was the origin of European May Day, which has become a regular institution in all European countries " (*Seventy Years*, pp 296 298)

There is no indication in the minutes of the Paris Congress of this terrible attack by Liebknecht and Bebel Perhaps the world war colored Gompers' memory a little?



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The minutes do record that when the resolution for world demonstrations on May 1, 1890, was brought in, the Belgian delegation demanded a vote by countries, and that the Belgian delegates voted against the resolution, promising to explain the vote later The inference was that they would support the movement, but because of laws at home, did not want to be on record The Russian delegation, led by Plekhanov (remember how he ended!) opposed the resolution, frankly on the ground that they were sure no such demonstration would be allowed in Russia The others all voted for it

As for Liebknecht's reputed opposition, he wrote an introduction to the minutes of the 1899 International Workingmen's Congress The introduction is dated June 2, 1890, approximately a year after the congress was held, and of course, a month after the May First of 1890

Liebknecht explains how he brought the minutes to Germany and translated them, and then in a kind of climax to the introduction he says

> "That it was no mere fire of straw that the congress lighted, has been proved by the First of May of this year, the first powerful, in fact, the *first* action of the proletariat all around the globe—the proletariat that the year before had established its federation of peace, freedom and equality "

Hugh McGregor does not appear in the minutes at all

In the minutes it is recorded that on the second day of the congress,

> "Citizen George M Hugh," (Is this McGregor?) "read a declaration of sympathy from the American Federation of Labor, signed by President Samuel Gompers, which contained a declaration that the federation was too deeply involved in struggles through the eight-hour day movement to be able to send a representative to the congress, and which recommended a merging with the Possibilist congress, and the greatest care in all decisions to be adopted "

> "I talked the idea over with Hugh McGregor who was idealist enough to recognize no practical difficulties The margin of time intervening was too small to trust a letter of invitation to the mail, so McGregor agreed to act as special courier His wants were few and accustomed to all kinds of delays in gratification We discovered that a boat was leaving within a brief time that would just get him to Paris in time McGregor went off to pack his bag with a few things, including a reserve celluloid collar Meanwhile I was to write a letter of official invitation and to meet him at the dock I wrote by hand a letter that seemed to be to be fraught with historic import, and then hurried to the dock to put it in McGregor's custody A number of labor men had learned of the trip They hailed me afar, for the boat was on the point of leaving I thrust the letter in McGregor's hand and joined the farewell shout
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These "Possibilists" were a group outside the Paris congress and to the right of it

Is this the letter of which Gompers unfortunately forgot to make a copy, but which seemed to him to "be fraught with historic import"? Is that why Gompers' account is so different from most of the dry as dust stuff he writes, is clothed instead with what begins to remind one of what Koko in *The Mikado* calls "an air of artistic versimilitude"? The letter as reported in the minutes sounds more like Gompers than does the version in the autobiography

Who spoke for the A F of L, who delivered that "invitation" to support by world demonstration the eight-hour-day strike o   e carpenters, in 1890, that Gompers speaks about?

The minutes show that several reports on the American situation were made, one by Busche of the Socialist Labor Party, on July 18, which denounced the theory of exceptionalism even at that early date and made the point that the American workers suffer and face the same problems as all workers in countries where large industry prevails, although as far as repressive laws are concerned, the United States differed from Europe in that these laws were many and as varied as the states, instead of being centralized through the national government as in Europe

It remained for the delegate Kirchner, of the United German Unions of New York, to make the argument for the A F of L Kirchner spoke on July 19, described the living conditions in America, the tenement houses, knocked out the idea that American streets were paved with gold, and continued

> "In my opinion, the most important organization and the one which holds out the greatest hope for the future is the American Federation of Labor, which is made up of unions whose spirit and tendency reminds one of the old English trade unions The labor movement fights still on the ground of the wages system, that is, it seeks a reduction of working time and a raising of the wages
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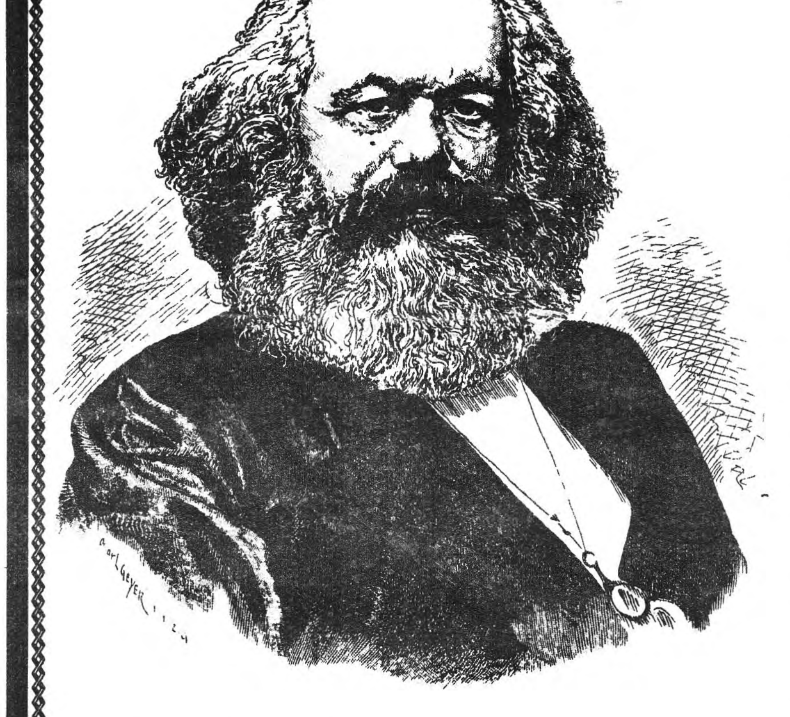
> "This federation has taken the initiative in a movement which lately has again begun in favor of the eight-hour normal working



Karl Marx

May 5, 1818 - March 14, 1883

"THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS HAS, OF COURSE, AS ITS FINAL OBJECT THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER FOR THIS CLASS. AND THIS REQUIRES, OF COURSE, A PREVIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING CLASS DEVELOPED UP TO A CERTAIN POINT, WHICH ITSELF ARISES FROM ITS ECONOMIC STRUGGLES.

BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, EVERY MOVEMENT IN WHICH THE WORKING CLASS COMES OUT AS A CLASS AGAINST THE RULING CLASS AND TRIES TO COERCE THEM BY PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT, IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT. FOR INSTANCE THE ATTEMPTS IN A PARTICULAR FACTORY OR EVEN A PARTICULAR TRADE, TO FORCE A SHORTER WORKING DAY OUT OF THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALISTS BY STRIKES, ETC., IS A PURELY ECONOMIC MOVEMENT. THE MOVEMENT TO FORCE THROUGH AN EIGHT HOUR LAW, ETC., HOWEVER, IS A POLITICAL MOVEMENT. AND IN THIS WAY, OUT OF THE SEPARATE ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS OF THE WORKERS THERE GROWS UP EVERYWHERE A POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE CLASS, WITH THE GENERAL OBJECT OF ACHIEVING ITS INTERESTS IN A GENERAL FORM, IN A FORM POSSESSING GENERAL, SOCIALLY COERCIVE FORCE. THOUGH THESE MOVEMENTS PRESUPPOSE A CERTAIN DEGREE OF PREVIOUS ORGANIZATION, THEY ARE IN TURN EQUALLY A MEANS OF DEVELOPING THIS ORGANIZATION."

("FROM MARX TO BOLTE", LETTERS TO AMERICANS, INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS)

The minutes do record that when the resolution for world demonstrations on May 1, 1890, was brought in, the Belgian delegation demanded a vote by countries, and that the Belgian delegates voted against the resolution, promising to explain the vote later The inference was that they would support the movement, but because of laws at home, did not want to be on record The Russian delegation, led by Plekhanov (remember how he ended!) opposed the resolution, frankly on the ground that they were sure no such demonstration would be allowed in Russia The others all voted for it

As for Liebknecht's reputed opposition, he wrote an introduction to the minutes of the 1899 International Workingmen's Congress The introduction is dated June 2, 1890, approximately a year after the congress was held, and of course, a month after the May First of 1890

Liebknecht explains how he brought the minutes to Germany and translated them, and then in a kind of climax to the introduction he says

> "That it was no mere fire of straw that the congress lighted, has been proved by the First of May of this year, the first powerful, in fact, the *first* action of the proletariat all around the globe—the proletariat that the year before had established its federation of peace, freedom and equality"

Hugh McGregor does not appear in the minutes at all

In the minutes it is recorded that on the second day of the congress,

> "Citizen George M Hugh," (Is this McGregor?) "read a declaration of sympathy from the American Federation of Labor, signed by President Samuel Gompers, which contained a declaration that the federation was too deeply involved in struggles through the eight hour-day movement to be able to send a representative to the congress, and which recommended a merging with the Possibilist congress, and the greatest care in all decisions to be adopted"

May First and th Labor Mov

By BILL DUN

> "On the one hand, the enormous ceaseless stream of men, year after year, driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labor market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc, in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital (Marx, Capital, Vol I, Page 874—Kerr Edition, 1919)

MAY Day became an international fighting day for the working class as a result of the struggle for the 8-hour day in the United States, which culminated in the general strike on May 1, 1886, centering in Chicago, the arrest of eight leaders of the workers and the legal murder of five of them following the bomb explosion in Haymarket Square while a huge mass meeting was being held The explosion is commonly believed to have been the work of an agent-provocateur and was used as an excuse by the capitalist class and its agents to revenge themselves upon the workers and check the growing mass movement

The struggle for the 8-hour day was the answer of the working class on a national scale to the developments described by Marx in the above quotation and marked the definite emergence of the American proletariat as a class.

The panic of 1873 which followed the demobilization of the armies of the North and South, throwing thousands of soldiers

These "Possibilists" were a group outside the Paris congress and to the right of it

Is this the letter of which Gompers unfortunately forgot to make a copy, but which seemed to him to "be fraught with historic import"? Is that why Gompers' account is so different from most of the dry as dust stuff he writes, is clothed instead with what begins to remind one of what Koko in *The Mikado* calls "an air of artistic versimilitude"? The letter as reported in the minutes sounds more like Gompers than does the version in the autobiography

Who spoke for the A F of L, who delivered that 'invitation" to support by world demonstration the eight-hour-day strike o[illegible] [illegible]e carpenters, in 1890, that Gompers speaks about?

The minutes show that several reports on the American situation were made, one by Busche of the Socialist Labor Party, on July 18, which denounced the theory of exceptionalism even at that early date and made the point that the American workers suffer and face the same problems as all workers in countries where large industry prevails, although as far as repressive laws are concerned, the United States differed from Europe in that these laws were many and as varied as the states, instead of being centralized through the national government as in Europe

It remained for the delegate Kirchner, of the United German Unions of New York, to make the argument for the A F of L Kirchner spoke on July 19, described the living conditions in America, the tenement houses, knocked out the idea that American streets were paved with gold, and continued

> "In my opinion, the most important organization and the one which holds out the greatest hope for the future is the American Federation of Labor, which is made up of unions whose spirit and tendency reminds one of the old English trade unions The labor movement fights still on the ground of the wages system, that is, it seeks a reduction of working time and a raising of the wages
>
> "This federation has taken the initiative in a movement which lately has again begun in favor of the eight-hour normal working day To me it seems without a doubt that the very intelligent leaders of this organization have realized the insufficiency of the goal which we have just now stated But they consider it too early to go further in the direction of socialism "

Then the optimistic Kirchner goes on to expose the mercenary character of the leaders of the Knights of Labor, just then in deadly conflict with the A F of L Kirchner damns the grand master workman of the K of L as a heartless robber because he took a salary of $5,000 a year from the pockets of the members of the organization Which, without doubt, was a correct criticism But if Kirchner could only have foreseen some of the salaries which the heads of A F of L unions were to demand and get! *

There followed later a period when the Second International devitalized May First as it did the whole labor movement Most of us can remember the socialist May Days, the anarchist and I W W May Days, in which the whole struggle was burlesqued in a picnic, where, in some hired city park, the dance music was stopped long enough for an orator to rise and say "Comrades! (or "Fellow Workers!" or "Brothers!") May Day is a beautiful day As the sap rises in the trees in the spring, bringing the promise of blossoms bursting out, so the courage of the workers rises on this old religious holiday, sure to flower in due time into the glorious summer of the co-operative commonwealth," etc With the advent of the Communist International, the militant workers changed all that

But even in the socialist period, the day had its occasional struggles The seething Russian masses, more than once in revolution or near revolution, held a demonstration in 1901 which brought forth from Lenin one of his most penetrating analyses of the significance of such anniversary events He says

> "The Kharkov May Day celebrations illustrate how the celebration of a labor holiday can become a great political demonstration and they reveal what it is we lack to make these celebrations a really great all Russian demonstration of the class-conscious proletariat What made the May Day celebrations in Kharkov an event of outstanding importance? The mass participation of the workers in the strike, the huge mass meetings in the streets, the unfurling of red flags, the presentation of demands indicated in leaflets and the revolutionary character of these demands—eight hour day and political liberty The legend that the Russian workers have not sufficiently grown up for the political struggle, that their principal duty is to conduct the purely economic struggle, and only slowly and very gradually supplement it by partial agitation, for partial political reforms, that they must not take up the struggle against the whole of the political system of Russia—that legend has been totally refuted by the Kharkov May Day celebrations "

In the same article Lenin says

> "Demands for wage increases and better treatment can be and ought to be presented by the workers to the employers in each separate trade The demand for an eight hour day, however, is the demand of the whole proletariat, presented, not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present day social and political system, to the capitalist system as a whole, the owners of all the means of production The demand for an eight hour day has assumed special significance It is a declaration of solidarity with the international Socialist movement We must make the workers understand this difference, and prevent them from reducing it to the level of demands like free tickets, or the dismissal of watchmen Throughout this year, the workers, first in one place and then in another, continuously present a variety of partial demands to their employers and fight for these demands In assisting the workers in this fight, Communists must always explain the connection it has with the proletarian struggle for emancipation in all countries The First of May must be the day on which the workers solemnly declare that they realize this connection and resolutely join in the struggle "

These words were never more true than they are today, as applied to the United States What Lenin says about the eight-hour-day demand can be said also of the demand for the right to live, of the demands against starvation, of the demand for unemployment relief

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* The whole question of Gompers' relations with the Paris Congress and Gompers' alleged part in bringing about the international celebration of May First needs further study for which there is not time as this article is written Some one should go over the labor papers of the time, and investigate the French and German literature on the subject —V S

Karl Marx

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May First and the American Labor Movement

By BILL DUNNE

> "On the one hand, the enormous ceaseless stream of men, year after year, driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labor market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc, in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital (Marx, Capital, Vol I, Page 874—Kerr Edition, 1919)

MAY Day became an international fighting day for the working class as a result of the struggle for the 8-hour day in the United States, which culminated in the general strike on May 1, 1886, centering in Chicago, the arrest of eight leaders of the workers and the legal murder of five of them following the bomb explosion in Haymarket Square while a huge mass meeting was being held The explosion is commonly believed to have been the work of an agent-provocateur and was used as an excuse by the capitalist class and its agents to revenge themselves upon the workers and check the growing mass movement

The struggle for the 8-hour day was the answer of the working class on a national scale to the developments described by Marx in the above quotation and marked the definite emergence of the American proletariat as a class.

The panic of 1873 which followed the demobilization of the armies of the North and South, throwing thousands of soldiers on the streets and into the ranks of the unemployed, the celebration by the capitalist class of the North of their victory over the landholding ruling class of the South by an orgy of bribery and corruption in government and business administration, the looting of the public lands and other natural resources, the squeezing out of small capitalists and the beginning of the consolidation of ownership and control in the hands of new powerful combinations—the beginning of the end of the "golden days" of individual capitalist enterprise, were accompanied by mass unemployment and starvation wages The two decades from 1866 to 1886 were a period of rapid capitalist consolidation carried on without mercy at the expense of the working class—a period of capitalist accumulation and concentration in which bribery and banditry played a big role

Strikes were of frequent occurrence and already, as in the Pennsylvania railway strike and the steel strike (Homestead, 1877), had taken on a militant character and brought large numbers of workers into open conflict with the armed forces of the capitalists and the government

During the Civil War the trade unions, such as there were, had practically disappeared The working class found itself confronting greater concentration of capital with little trade union organization and that of a decentralized character It was forced into action as a class and with the 8-hour day as its central demand entered the struggle on a national scale, a struggle which in spite of all its confused characteristics clearly bears out Marx's description of the causes and the development of such struggles

> "Large scale production brings together in one place a mass of persons not previously acquainted with one another Competition severs their interests The defense of their rate of wages, giving them a joint interest as against their employer, plucks them out of their isolation, and consolidates them into a group Animated by a general idea of resistance, they form a union These unions, isolated to begin with, are themselves forced into combination as a means of defense against their employers, who on their side are steadily consolidating their forces for attack In time, the defense of the unions comes to seem to the workers even more important than the defense of their wages In the struggle (the extant form of civil war) there are unified and developed all the elements of the coming general engagement Having reached this point, the combination assumes a political character" (Poverty of Philosophy)

The determined attempt by the trade unions to conduct the fight for the 8-hour day on a national scale is to be seen from the fact that it was authorized and the date set two years in advance—in 1884, at the Fourth Convention of the Trade Unions and Labor Organizations The class political character of the conflict was evident to the capitalists from the very beginning, as shown by the literature of the period, and their bloody suppresion of the movement As in all such struggles the implications were far more significant than the mere demand for the 8-hour day would indicate

The American trade union movement began in this period as a definite class instrument

From this period also dates the organized attempts of the capitalists, through their agents in the movement, to confine the activities of the trade union movement to purely "economic" questions, to prevent it from basing itself on the class struggle, to strip it of all working class political character

It was Samuel Gompers who made the Haymarket bomb explosion the excuse for rejecting the class struggle, for rejecting political action by the trade union movement, except as an appendage to the political parties of the capitalist class, who began at this time the systematic corruption of the trade unions which later made him the outstanding figure among the agents of imperialism in labor movement

The Knights of Labor, with its mass form of organization and its confusion of the interests of industrial workers with those of farmers, was superseded by the American Federation of Labor based on the labor aristocracy But the movement retained enough of its militant class character to produce the American Railway Union strike of 1894 lead by Debs, and in the metal mining regions of the Rocky Mountain section, the Western Federation of Miners led fierce battles for ten years more

Inside the unions the fight for class struggle policies continued but Gompers and his collection of imperialist agents remained in control

The corruption of the trade union movement, its failure to develop revolutionary policies, enabled the ruling class to erect the gigantic trustified structure of American capitalism in the imperialist period upon the backs of a working class almost entirely lacking organization in the decisive industries

The recent rapid process of rationalization which has brought such misery to the masses, and upon which the rulers of all other capitalist countries look with envious eyes is thus seen to have one of its principal roots in the betrayal of the early mass struggle for the 8-hour day, and the subsequent corruption of the movement by the leaders of the labor aristocracy The trade union movement, with the exception of the revolutionary minorities inside and outside the A F of L unions, became an instrument of the capitalist class

The revolutionary logic of the class struggle has made the Communist Party of the United States the bearer of all the militant traditions of the early labor movement The blood of the Haymarket martyrs mingles with that of Ella May and Steve Katovis Our Party alone carries forward the brave traditions of the general strike for the 8-hour day, raises as the American Section of the Communist International, the slogan of the political strike on May Day, 1930, for the unconditional release of all class war prisoners, against unemployment, for Work or Wages, for social insurance, **for the 7-hour day and the 5-day week**

7,000,000 workers have no jobs Millions more work part time for miserable wages Under the leadership of our Party hundreds of thousands of workers have demanded "Work or Wages" Hundreds of thousands will renew this demand on May Day Masses of American workers demand *"the right to work"* This alone shows that the working class is throwing off the influence of imperialism's agents, preparing for mass struggles having a clear political character

> "The right to work, in the bourgeois sense, is a contradiction, a miserable pious wish, but behind the right to work looms up the power over capital, behind the power over capital the expropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the organized working class, therefore, the abolition of wage labor, of capital and of their mutual relations Behind the "right to work" stood the June insurrection" (Marx, The Class Struggles in France)

Behind the slogan of "Work or Wages" is the demand of the proletariat for the "right to work" Behind the "right to work" is the rapidly sharpening class struggle, the revolutionary trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League rallying the workers in the decisive industries, challenging, exposing and defeating in action the agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the workers—the fascist A F of L, the social-fascists of its Muste wing and the Socialist Party

The Communist Party of the United States marches at the head of the working class battalions on May Day, 1930 In open class conflict, under the leadership of the World Party of Lenin, it has won the right to preserve for the class of which it is the most conscious and disciplined section, the fighting traditions of the worker-warriors who on May Day, 1886, christened with their blood and gave to the working class of the whole world its international fighting day

An economic crisis grips American capitalism and involves it ever deeper in the world imperialist conflict Its lies about permanent prosperity, its insolent claim to have refuted the Marxian law of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, are shattered It is unable to stop the process of disillusionment among the masses, it can no longer marshal them under the black banners of its fascist agents to starve in silence

For the first time our Party is able to speak to and rally hundreds of thousands of workers for struggle against rationalization and mass unemployment, to show the connection between the preparations for attack on the Soviet Union, for war between the imperialist powers, and the drive against the economic social and political status of our class, to secure wide mass response from and establish a broad base among thousands of workers

In 1886, in the infancy of the trade union movement, the clear line of the class struggle had not been carved deep enough by capitalist development to make it impossible for its agents among the masses to obscure it

Today its crimson furrows are to be seen on the bodies of millions of workers

Work or Wages, the "right to work," the struggle against imperialist war, defense of the Soviet Union, are linked inseparably today and are synthesized in the revolutionary slogan of "class against class."

The organization of our class, the building of the revolutionary unions under the leadership of our Party as the mass base of proletarian power is the main task facing us on May Day, 1930

> "Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present movement they are also defending the future of the movement" (Communist Manifesto)

The correct connection of the immediate aims and struggles of our class with the revolutionary struggle for proletarian power, with our revolutionary objectives, is the key to the winning of the majority of the decisive sections of class for Communism—the task that cannot be separated from the building of the class struggle unions

Long Live The First Of May!

J. STALIN

COMRADES.

AS FAR BACK AS LAST CENTURY, THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES RESOLVED TO CELEBRATE ANNUALLY THIS DAY, THE FIRST OF MAY. THAT WAS IN 1889, WHEN, AT THE PARIS CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES, THE WORKERS RESOLVED TO PROCLAIM, PRECISELY ON THIS DAY, THE FIRST OF MAY, WHEN NATURE IS AWAKENING FROM HER WINTER SLEEP, WHEN THE WOODS AND HILLS ARE DONNING THEIR GREEN MANTLES AND THE FIELDS AND MEADOWS ARE ADORNING THEMSELVES WITH FLOWERS, WHEN THE SUN SHINES MORE WARMLY, THE JOY OF REVIVAL FILLS THE AIR AND NATURE GIVES HERSELF UP TO DANCING AND REJOICING--THEY RESOLVED TO PROCLAIM LOUDLY AND OPENLY TO THE WHOLE WORLD, PRECISELY ON THIS DAY, THAT THE WORKERS ARE BRINGING SPRING TO MANKIND AND DELIVERANCE FROM THE SHACKLES OF CAPITALISM, THAT IT IS THE MISSION OF THE WORKERS TO RENOVATE THE WORLD ON THE BASIS OF FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM.

EVERY CLASS HAS ITS OWN FAVORITE FESTIVALS. THE NOBILITY INTRODUCED THEIR FESTIVALS, AND ON THEM THEY PROCLAIM THEIR "RIGHT" TO ROB THE PEASANTS. THE BOURGEOISIE HAVE THEIR FESTIVALS AND ON THEM THEY "JUSTIFY" THEIR "RIGHT" TO EXPLOIT THE WORKERS. THE CLERGY, TOO, HAVE THEIR FESTIVALS, AND ON THEM THEY EULOGIZE THE EXISTING SYSTEM UNDER WHICH THE TOILERS DIE IN POVERTY WHILE THE IDLERS WALLOW IN LUXURY.

THE WORKERS, TOO, MUST HAVE THEIR FESTIVAL, AND ON IT THEY MUST PROCLAIM: UNIVERSAL LABOR, UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, UNIVERSAL EQUALITY OF ALL MEN. THAT FESTIVAL IS THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST OF MAY.

THAT IS WHAT THE WORKERS RESOLVED AS FAR BACK AS 1889.

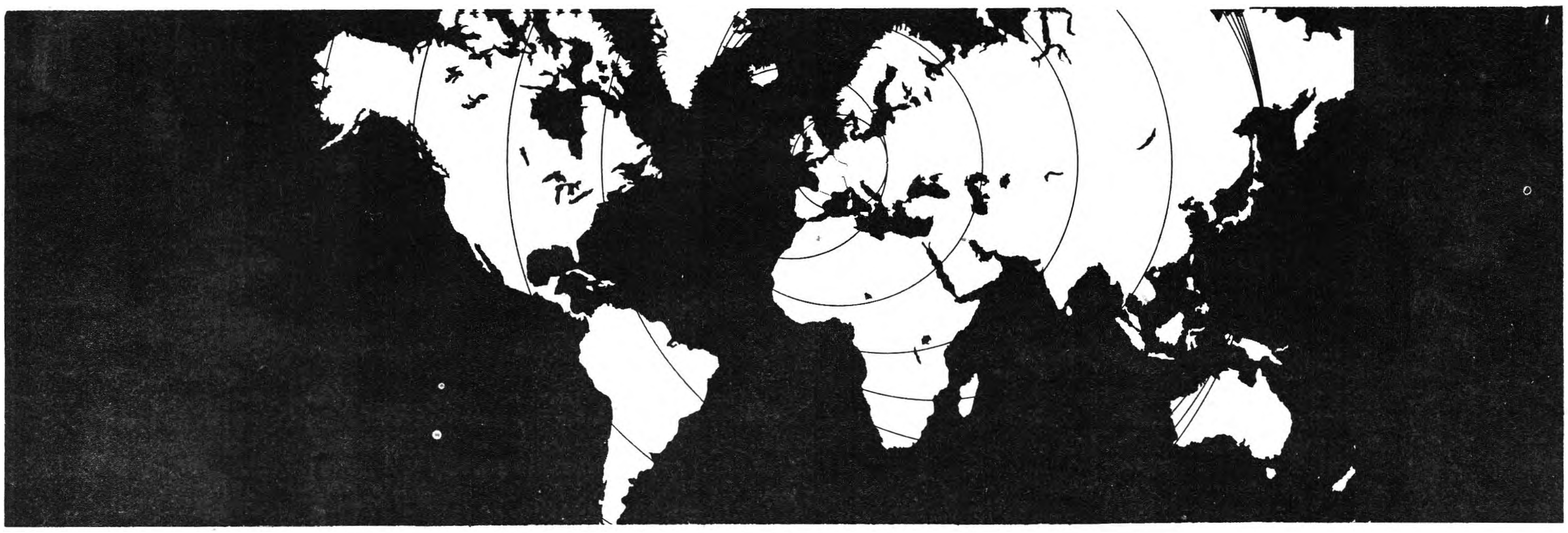
SINCE THEN THE BATTLE CRY OF WORKERS' SOCIALISM HAS RUNG OUT LOUDER AND LOUDER AT MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE FIRST OF MAY. THE OCEAN OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IS EXPANDING MORE AND MORE, SPREADING TO NEW COUNTRIES AND STATES, FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA AND ASIA, AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA. IN THE COURSE OF ONLY A FEW DECADES THE FORMERLY WEAK INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' ASSOCIATION HAS GROWN INTO A MIGHTY INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD, WHICH HOLDS REGULAR CONGRESSES AND UNITES MILLIONS OF WORKERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE SEA OF PROLETARIAN WRATH IS RISING IN TOWERING WAVES, AND IS MORE AND MORE MENACINGLY ADVANCING AGAINST THE TOTTERING CITADELS OF CAPITALISM. THE GREAT COAL MINERS' STRIKE WHICH RECENTLY FLARED UP IN GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, BELGIUM, AMERICA, ETC., A STRIKE WHICH STRUCK FEAR INTO THE HEARTS OF THE EXPLOITERS AND RULERS ALL OVER THE WORLD, IS A CLEAR SIGN THAT THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS NOT FAR OFF.....

"WE DO NOT WORSHIP THE GOLDEN CALF." WE DO NOT WANT THE KINGDOM OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE OPPRESSORS. DAMNATION AND DEATH TO CAPITALISM AND ITS HORRORS OF POVERTY AND BLOODSHED. LONG LIVE THE KINGDOM OF LABOUR, LONG LIVE SOCIALISM.

THAT IS WHAT THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES PROCLAIM ON THIS DAY.

AND CONFIDENT OF VICTORY, CALM AND STRONG, THEY ARE MARCHING PROUDLY ALONG THE ROAD TO THE PROMISED LAND, TOWARDS GLORIOUS SOCIALISM, STEP BY STEP CARRYING OUT KARL MARX'S GREAT CALL:

"WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"



FOCUS ON EUROPE

EUROPE HAS BEEN THE BATTLEGROUND FOR TWO WORLD WARS - WARS IN WHICH THE IMPERIALIST AND FASCIST POWERS FOUGHT OVER THE LABOR AND RESOURCES OF THE EUROPEAN MASSES. TODAY, THE SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE IS GROWING MORE AND MORE SIMILAR TO THAT PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II.

THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF THE CONTENTION OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IS TODAY ON EUROPE, THE RIPEST PLUM IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ARENA. IN COMMUNIST LINE #5, THE GENERAL CRISIS AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, WE PRESENT OUR VIEWS ON THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM, THE DANGER OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND THE THREAT OF IMPERIALIST WAR, THE CONTENTION OVER EUROPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS. WE ENCOURAGE COMRADES' COMMENTS AND CRITICISM ON THIS ANALYSIS.

TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER IN EUROPE TODAY ARE THE STRUGGLE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE RISE OF MODERN REVISIONISM IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

IN THE FIRST ARTICLE, WE PRESENT AN ANALYSIS OF THE FRENCH REVISIONISTS BY ZERI I POPULLIT, ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR. IN THE SECOND ARTICLE, A CLASS ANALYSIS OF SPAIN BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST). THESE ITEMS ARE PUBLISHED TOWARD PROVIDING GREATER CLARITY ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN EUROPE.

Social-Democratic Congress of the French Revisionists

An editorial entitled Social Democratic Congress of the French Revisionists recently appeared in **Zeri i Popullit** The text of the editorial follows

The PLA has longsince warned that the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would inevitably lead to the complete social democratic degeneration of those parties which took to this course It has also pointed out that to join the Khrushchovite line to fight against Stalin and his Marxist Leninist lessons against dogmatism for the alleged creative development of Marxism Leninism would lead to the complete deviation from Leninism and to the plunging into the morass of opportunism and anti communism

Our article of April 7 1964 entitled Modern Revisionists on the Road of Social Democratic Degeneration and Fusion with Social Democracy read that by following the opportunist course of the 20th Congress and by recommending it to the communist and workers parties of other countries the Khrushchovite revisionists are aiming at degenerating the communist parties into reformist parties of the social democratic type at strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology and reformist illusions in the working masses at weakening the revolutionary militant spirit of the movement of the working class and at side tracking it from the only correct road against the capitalist order of oppression and exploitation This article dealing with the concessions made to the social democrats at the 17th Congress of the French Communist Party directly denounced the plot of the French revisionists for its social democratic degeneration

Twelve years have passed since then and now at the 22nd Congress held some days ago the French revisionists passed onto the positions of open fight against the revolution and communism

At the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party the complete transition of the French revisionists on to the advanced opportunist and anti Marxist positions of the Italian Togliatists who have long since won the black reputation of the forerunners to link themselves and fuse with social democracy and to be placed at the open service of the bourgeoisie was sealed

The key problem on which the Secretary General of the French revisionist party George Marchais dwelt on was that of the dictatorship of the proletariat He did his utmost to justify the erasing of this fundamental principle of Marxism Leninism from the party documents He declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not figure in the draft document presented to the congress because it does not respond to the reality of our policy the reality of that which we propose to the country' According to him the state power which allegedly will carry out the socialist transformations of the society will not be the dictatorship of the proletariat but the state power of the working class and other categories of the working people of physical and mental labour of the town and country that is the overwhelming majority of the people

Coming out so openly against the dictatorship of the proletariat Marchais proclaims it as dogma left behind by life unnecessary inapplicable and impossible in the present conditions of France and of our epoch in general With his great zeal to serve the bourgeoisie Marchais places himself in the ranks of the worst renegades to the cause of the working class from Bernstein and Kautsky to Brauder Tito and Khrushchov and his ilk The theorisations he tries to sell as the creative application and development of Marxism Leninism are nothing else but a banal copy of the opportunist theses long since exposed and rejected by Marxism Leninism and the world revolutionary practice

Marchais says that by abandoning the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat he allegedly bases himself on the allegedly did not consider the dictatorhsip of the proletariat as a basic principle but only as something necessary for certain countries and conditions and for a short period of time But Marchais cannot hide his treachery to the immortal teachings of Marx and Lenin behind such manoeuvers It is not fortuitous that in his long speech he never once referred to either Marx Engels or Lenin on this question because Marx stressed that **"The class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat"**, that the state of the transitory period from capitalism to communism **"cannot be anything else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"**, while V I Lenin considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main thing in the Marxist theory and strongly stressed that **"A Marxist is only he who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat"**, Lenin considered the giving up of the dictatorship of the proletariat as treachery and idiocy He said **"Either dictatorship (that is an iron state power) of the landowners and capitalists, or the dictatorship of the working class There is no middle road The sons of noblemen, worthless intellectuals, petty noblemen who have learnt badly from bad books dream of a middle road in vain There is not and cannot be a middle road in any country of the world Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat He who has not learnt this from history is a hopeless idiot"**

The abandoning of the Marxist Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat could not but lead Marchais as it did to the abandoning of all the fundamental principles of scientific socialism first and foremost to the abandoning of the revolution through violence and the class struggle as the absolute law and the only road for the overthrow of capitalism and the socialist transformation of the society

Marchais replaced the proletarian revolution with the so-called democratic road He says There is no better or shorter road to socialism other than the road of democracy today democracy and freedom are the main terrain of the class struggle, of the revolutionary struggle

According to Marchais on this road alleged reforms will be realised destined to carry out deep going transformations in the economic social and political structures of the country and which will allegedly limit the hegemony of big capital and the exploitation of the working people while they will give the latter the opportunity to seriously influence the governing of the country This is the French revisionists variant of the preachings of the Italian revisionists according to whom they can allegedly pass to socialism through the structural reforms" within the framework of the respecting of the bourgeois constitution, through the parliamentary game etc without the need of destroying the bourgeois state machine with all its institutions

How will all these miracles be achieved? If you were to believe Marchais about all this there is no need either for the revolution with violence or the class struggle or the dictatorship of the proletariat but it would be enough to secure the unification of the overwhelming majority of the people and through general suffrage, compel the big bourgeoisie to respect the will of the people In the struggle for socialism ' Marchais declares nothing absolutely nothing can in our epoch and in a country like ours replace the people s will of the majority which is expressed democratically through struggle and general suffrage Whatever the modalities through which the march towards socialism in our country will be carried out we must be certain that in every stage the political majority and the arithmetic majority must coincide

Reading what Marchais states one thinks he is hearing Bernstein Kautsky and company Bernstein said Today through voting demonstrations and other such means of influence we are able to realize reforms for which one hundreds years ago demanded bloody revolutions" Kautsky on his part tried to prove that in the conditions of the bourgeois democracy the violent revolution is unnecessary that the aim of the political struggle of the social democrats is 'the seizure of the state power through the winning of the majority in the parliament and the transformation of the parliament into a master over the government

Lenin has long since answered these renegades, beginning from Bernstein down to Marchais **"The opportunist gentlemen, the Kautsky followers included, he wrote, as if to joke with the theory of Marx 'teach' the people in this way at the beginning the proletariat must win the majority through the general rights of voting, then, according to such a voting by the majority, seize the state power, and then, on this basis of the 'consistent' democracy (some call it 'pure') organise socialism While we, according to the theory of Marx and the experience of the Russian revolution say at the beginning the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie and secure the state power for itself, and then to use this state power, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a weapon of its own class to win the sympathy of the majority of the working people"** Like all the renegades, Marchais, too, tries to hide his betrayal of Marxism-Leninism referring to the new conditions, the changes that have taken place in the development of the society According to him, the reformist, parliamentary and democratic ' road is justifiable because allegedly "in the final account it is reaction and fascism that are withdrawing, while democracy is advancing"

But the speculations of Marchais in regard to the new conditions are baseless in front of history and facts Naturally, changes have taken place and will take place in the development of the capitalist society too but they have not changed its exploiting and oppressive essence Moreover the everyday facts prove that the tendency of this development is not the extension of freedom and democracy but its further amputation Numerous facts speak about the increase of imperialist reaction in all fields, about the unprecedented swelling of the bureaucratic, military and police apparatuses of the bourgeois state, about the extensive use of military-fascist putsches and the increase of the danger of fascism In these conditions to preach that the violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are outdated, as Marchais is doing, and to spread illusions that the bourgeoisie and reaction will peacefully accept to give up their domination and to obey "the democratic majority" without the need of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat over them, means to openly pass over to the side of the bourgeoisie and reaction, against the working class and the working people

Marchais openly expresses himself against the revolutionary violence and says that every idea to replace "the political will of the majority of the people with the arms of oppression" is a dangerous illusion and provocation, which gives the weapons to reaction and leads the revolutionary movement towards its isolation and failure He tries to justify this counter-revolutionary thesis with the teachings allegedly emanating from the events in Chile and to sell this as an invention to avoid the repetition of what happened there

According to Marchais it emerges that in the present day conditions the revolution bears the danger of the establishment of fascism But what did the events in Chile show? They clearly showed the failure of the peaceful road preached by the revisionists, the failure of the reformist illusions They showed that without opposing the forces of reaction with the armed force of the revolution, without destroying from the foundations the bourgeois state machine without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the leadership of the Marxist Leninist proletarian party, the revolution is destined to fail

The revisionists were frightened to death and capitulated completely in face of their defeat in Chile and plunged even deeper into the morass of opportunism As a result, the new strategies of the revisionists emerged such as that of Berlinguer In Italy on the "historic compromise" with the Christian democrats, that of Carillo in Spain on the unity with the legitimists, that of Cunhal in Portugal on the revolution through the army or that of Marchais on the gathering of the French people etc in this way, they want to sidetrack the working class from the revolution to intimidate it with the phantom of fascism and to assure the bourgeoisie that nothing threatens it on the side of the revisionists, that they are its best guarantee and defenders

The fascist coup in Chile showed that Allende and his circle were social democrats When they came to power and tried to make steps in the direction of democratic transformations, fascism cut their heads off In face of these events, the revisionist Marchais, this petty bourgeois prefers to remain the slave of the bourgeoisie rather than take the road of the revolution, the only road which can avoid fascism

Marchais, as a typical representative of bourgeois liberal revisionism who worships class peace, went so far as to ask the congress for the prohibition of the raised fist salute and declare that the French revisionist party "is not the party of the raised fist, but the party of the outstretched hand"

In his attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat Marchais surpasses all the records of the renegades to the working class and openly passes into the camp of the most frenzied anti-communist propaganda With the greatest shamelessness he says that the dictatorship of the proletariat "automatically reminds one of the fascist regimes of Hitler Mussolini, Salazar and Franco"

The presentation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the denial of the democracy as Marchais is doing, is the most banal and discredited invention of the bourgeois propaganda against socialism For whom does Marchais seek democracy, democracy and freedom for the exploiters for fascists, the bourgeoisie? The proletariat has publicly declared that there is no democracy in socialism for the enemies and exploiters, but oppression There is freedom only for the people in socialism **"The dictatorship of the proletariat"**, as Lenin stressed, **"is the broadest and most complete democracy for the working people "**

It is precisely with the oppression of the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries which Marchais does not agree His socialism not only accepts the small and middle capital but even the free political organisation of the reactionary and anti-proletarian forces 'To ensure the success of socialism", he says, "it is not a question of depriving the minority, made up by the reactionary forces of their liberties can the reactionaries be organised into a reactionary party? They do this even at present, this will not be anthing new

All the 'arguments ' Marchais brings out to justify the so-called socialism he preaches aim in essence at assuring the bourgeoisie that this will not be a proletarian and anti-bourgeois socialism, but a "socialism in French colours The only thing lacking in these colours is the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie the destruction of the bourgeois state machine the dictatorship of the proletariat the oppression of the exploiters, the liquidation of capitalist private property the proletarian party and its unique leadership, proletarian centralism But if the capitalist property and the bourgeois reactionary parties remain intact, then what sort of socialism is this?

This sort of "socialisme a la Marchais" purchased in the consumer ' society has nothing in common with genuine socialism which is built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism The socialist society Marchais preaches, is nothing else but the present day capitalist society where the workers' aristocracy and together with it the leaders of the French "Communist ' Party and all the revisionists who follow them, aim at running the affairs of the bourgeoisie At collaborating with it and sharing the surplus value just as the social-democrats have done and are doing in many countries

Abandoning the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is linked with the negation of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and in the socialist society In this question too, Marchais comes out clearly with his anti-Marxist countenance He rises against the very notion "proletariat" counterposing it to the notion "working class' in which by openly distorting Marxism he also includes broad non-proletarian strata, such as the intelligentsia and in general the wage earners, that is, all the officials and functionaries of the bourgeoisie state apparatus and of capitalist production, trade union bureaucracy, etc In essence we have to do here with a refined variant of the known bourgeois theories of the deproletarisation of the capitalist society and the replacement of the leading role of the working class with the role of the non-proletarian classes and strata Thus the leadership of the French revisionist party adopted the known ultra-opportunist theses of R Garaudy whom it expelled from the party and stigmatized, just as he was in reality, as a branded revisionist

Marchais also comes out openly against the proletarian class nature of the party The doors of his party, which has assumed the mission, not of the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but of the running of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, are wide open for people of whatever non-proletarian bourgeois, petty bourgeois, idealist and up to the religious ideologies and world-outlook Marchais says that even Christians "without abandoning anything of their faith, or their religious practice", may militate in his party

This, in general terms is the anti-Marxist road that Marchais, this petty-bourgeois megalomanian and phony theoretician, this herald of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement, preaches from the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party He tries to place "the treachery of the revisionists towards Marxism-Leninism and towards the cause of the proletariat which they have long since been implementing in practice on a theoretical basis

Though Marchais proclaims himself a champion for pluralism, though he speaks about 'a French road towards socialism", at the same time tries to impose this road, which is as distant from the Marxist-Leninist principles as the earth from the sky, on all the countries and peoples, presenting it as the sole road for the transition to socialism not only in France, but also in our epoch in general

The 22nd Congress marks the complete and final transformation of the French revisionist party into a social democrat type party, its official and open transition into the camp of the bourgeoisie This congress clearly proves that the French revisionists have openly and completely betrayed those revolutionary deals which in 1920, at the Tour Congress, led to the separation of the communists from the socialist party and the foundation of the French "Communist" Party as a party of the French proletariat Now nothing, absolutely nothing can distinguish the revisionist "Communist" Party of Marchais from the 'bourgeois workers party" of Leon Blum and Gi Molais and from the socialist or social democratic parties of other countries, publicly known as loyal watchdogs of capitalism and bourgeois domination

This great betrayal of the revolution and socialism by the French revisionists, their complete transition to the positions of social democracy, is a direct consequence of the betrayal and the counter-revolutionary course of the Soviet Khrushchovite leadership It is not difficult to see that the present theorisations of Marchais, the entire open anti-Marxist course adopted at the congress of the French revisionists have at their basis the ill-famed theses of the Khrushchovite revisionist renegades on the so-called "peaceful democratic and parliamentary road to socialism", on the "state and the party of the entire people", on the rapprochement and collaboration with social democracy, their thesis on the fight against 'dogmatism" and Stalin, with which they imply Marxism-Leninism, etc

Nevertheless the Soviet revisionists pretend to be astonished that their pupils and followers are going so far In fact the Soviet leaders are not worried about the principles about the destinies of the revolution and socialism

That which worries the Soviet revisionist chieftains is something else The 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party shows that the revisionist parties in various capitalist countries, placing themselves ever more openly at the service of the local bourgeoisie are manifesting tendencies to break away from Moscow and going so far as to prove this break away to their bourgeoisie They make any criticism of the Soviet leadership and come out in defence of the rightist disidents in the Soviet Union as Marchais did These centrifugal tendencies are in opposition to the expansionist interests and aims of Soviet social-imperialism, which wants to keep the revisionist parties of other countries under its control to have them as fulcrum and tools of its policy in its aims for world domination

The French revisionists, just as the Italian Togliatists before them flagrantly threw aside Marxism-Leninism and adopted the tattered banner of social democracy and treachery of the interests of the proletariat But the French working class, with outstanding revolutionary traditions, will certainly not fall in line with this treacherous course On the contrary it will march on the road indicated by Marxism Leninism until the achievement of the inevitable victory of socialism It is the duty of the Marxist Leninist revolutionaries, the French working class and its vanguard the true Marxist-Leninist party, that by mercilessly exposing the revisionist betrayal to raise high and unwaveringly carry forward the red banner of the revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat the banner of Marxism-Leninism

SPAIN, GATEWAY TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT FOCUS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM IN ITS EFFORT TO SUSTAIN THE OLD EUROPEAN ALLIANCES, AND PREVENT SOVIET INFLUENCE FROM SPREADING IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA. IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT SUCH BLATANT FASCIST RULE HAS BEEN PRESERVED WITH SUCH INTENSITY FOR SO LONG IN SPAIN.

THE INCESSANT MONARCHIST FASCIST TERROR, WHICH HAS HELD POWER IN SPAIN FOR THE LAST 35 YEARS, HAS FAILED TO DROWN THE STRONG UPSURGE OF RESISTANCE FROM THE HEROIC SPANISH PEOPLE. IN HIS EFFORT TO SUSTAIN THIS FASCIST DICTATORSHIP, JUAN CARLOS HAS RELIED UPON BOTH U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE LOCAL REVISIONISTS WHO FLY THE SOVIET COLORS AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY.

LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST), AND NUMEROUS MILITANT PROGRESSIVE MASS ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS F.R.A.P., THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH MASSES WILL CERTAINLY TOPPLE THE PRESENT DICTATORSHIP AND ITS FASCIST RULE. THIS BRIEF CLASS ANALYSIS OF SPAIN WAS WRITTEN BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST). WE HOPE IT CLARIFIES FOR COMRADES SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF SPAIN

"Classes are great groups of men differentiated by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of production, their relations to the means of production 'relations endorsed and formulated in large part by laws), the role they play in the social organisation of work, and consequently, the form and proportion in which they receive the part of social wealth they have been alloted"
(Lenin **Socialist Ideology and Culture**)

The financial and landowning oligarchy subordinated and bound to Yankee multimillionaires is the exclusive owner of political power and the fundamental owner of economic power in our country It consists of the financial magnates (usually both industrialists and bankers at the same time) the big landowners or latifundists (the concept of latifundia varies from region to region according to the richness and productivity of the land) and the generals of the armed forces and high officials of the state apparatus (in general linked in some way to the landlords and financiers) In the majority of cases either the financiers are at the same time latifundists and vice versa or they are linked by family or business ties In total the financial landowning oligarchy amounts to some 50 000 to 100 000 individuals (active population) and represent 0 5% to 1% of the active population of the country This ultrareactionary anti-national class exploit and oppress all the working people as well as plundering and expropriating the middle bourgeoisie It exercises exclusive control over the state apparatus It is a thoroughly reactionary class, embodiment of the most retrogressive aspect of Spanish society As the experiences of the Civil War and the long years of terror under Franco s regime have demonstrated, the oligarchy is prepared to go to any length of crime, killing and cruelty, no matter how horrendous to insure that they remain in power It is irrelevant whether they adopt the label Vaticanists Carlists Monarchists of one stripe or another, they are all held together by class affiliation with the oligarchy

Within the social base of the pro-imperialist oligarchy are included the repressive forces generals and officers of the army, other repressive components of the regime judges etc, intellectuals directly linked to the pro-Yankee fascist oligarchy in power and spreading its ideological views the high clergy and high officials of the state apparatus Within these sectors there can be individuals who stop supporting the regime but this can only happen in exceptional cases and does not modify in any sense the role in general played by these sectors

The rural middle bourgeoisie consists of the rich peasants and rural capitalists the urban middle bourgeoisie consists of businessmen and non-monopoly capitalists The rich peasants and rural capitalists number 50 000 to 100 000 representing 2 3% of the active agrarian population Businessmen and non monopoly capitalists do not possess immense quantities of capital sufficient to allow them to exercise monopoly in any branch of production They number between 100 000 and 150 000, or 1 to 1 5% of the active urban population In all the middle bourgeoisie amounts to some 150 000 to 200 000 individuals (active population) accounting for 1 to 2 % of the national population

The middle bourgeoisie is an owner class living off the exploitation of wage worker However it does not participate in State power which is held exclusively by the Yankee Franco financial and landowning oligarchy On the contrary the middle bourgeoisie suffers political oppression and economic plundering by the oligarchy Nevertheless this does not exclude the middle bourgeoisie from positions within the middle and lower strata of the state apparatus A part of the rural and urban middle bourgeoisie has already been eliminated by the economic policy of the Yankee Franco dictatorship while another sector is near bankruptcy It is true that there are still sectors that are relatively stable, but this has only been achieved at the cost of converting their companies into intermediaries and subsidiaries to the financial monopolies of the oligarchy, and are in danger of being liquidated whenever their usefulness to the oligarchy ends Given this situation the middle bourgeoisie is in a very unstable position vacillating between revolution and counterrevolution Its progressive most oppressed sectors—principally those in the minority nationality regions—may in certain circumstances take part in the revolution and accept proletarian leadership but other sectors will remain neutral, and there will also be some who prefer to tail after Yankee Franco reaction

The upper layer of the rural petty bourgeoisie consists of the middle peasants who basically live off their own work and that of their families on their own land but also exploit wage labour to some extent They number 300 000 and represent about 10% of the active agrarian population

The upper layer of the urban petty bourgeoisie consists of about 300 000 small businessmen and capitalists who themselves work in their small businesses but may employ up to five workers, thus exploiting wage labour to some degree, and about 500 000 low-level civil servants and professionals Some 800,000 people in total representing 8% of the active urban population

Altogether the upper layer of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie amount to about 1 2 million people or 8 to 9% of the active national population The upper petty bourgeoisie is working and exploited but at the same time it appropriates to itself a part of the surplus value produced by the working class, that is, it also has an exploiting character although to a very limited degree Its main interests coincide with those of the proletariat above all in the present national-democratic stage of the revolution but at the same time, it has some interests opposed to those of the proletariat Thus the upper layer of the petty bourgeoisie should be considered an objective ally of the proletariat for its interests and demands coincide in many points with those of the proletariat itself in the present stage of the revolution The lower layer of rural petty bourgeoisie consists of the small peasants who possess land worked by themselves and their families without exploiting outside labour There are about 500 000 small peasants constituting 16% of the active agrarian population The lower layer of the urban petty bourgeoisie consists of 400 000 handicraftsmen and shopkeepers who do not exploit outside labour representing 3% of the active urban population

In terms of active population the lower petty bourgeoisie amounts to about 900 000 or 7% of the national total It is working exploited and non exploiting and its interests fully coincide with those of the proletariat in this stage of the revolution and will also basically coincide in the stage of socialist revolution The differences and contradictions of interest between the lower petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat are of a very secondary level as the Yankee France dictatorship's oppression and exploitation increase the contradiction with imperialism and the ruling oligarchy sharpen bringing the lower petty bourgeoisie closer to the proletariat and encouraging its integration in the ranks of the revolution It is thus potentially revolutionary still one of the principal forces of the revolution

Students must mostly be considered as a special sector of the petty and middle bourgeoisie Yankee imperialism through its domination in Spain discourages and obstructs development of the country s productive forces imposing its own patents and production methods and as a result the country s scientific technical and cultural development is held back In addition American imperialism imposes its own imperialist culture in the Spanish universities with the consent of the pro Yankee ruling dictatorship Then again on account of its irrational and reactionary character monopoly capitalism represses all honest intellectual effort and imposes obscurantism For these reasons the majority of Spanish students find they are subjected to all kinds of barriers and obstacles first to getting admitted to educational institutions then to continuing with their education and finally to obtaining work later on As a result most students are interested in making certain democratic and patriotic demands which oppose them to the ruling oligarchy and its Yankee masters many of them join the revolution and adopt Marxist Leninist ideas Thus in the present stage the majority of students can be incorporated to the revolutionary struggle though always as wavering elements They are capable of showing great militant spirit The importance of this sector in terms of numbers in very substantial considering that there are more than 300 000 students in higher education On the other hand only by linking themselves to the working masses may the advanced elements of this sector be consistently revolutionary

The rural semi-proletariat consists of about a million poor peasants The poor peasants cannot earn a living solely working their land and are forced to sell their labour to agricultural enterprises either throughout the year or seasonally They represent 33% of the active agrarian population The urban semi-proletariat is composed of subordinate staff and other workers of modest means In terms of active population they amount to two and-a-half million workers 25% of the active urban population Altogether the three-and-a-half million semi proletarians in the city and the countryside represent 26% of the active national population The semi proletariat is an intermediate layer between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class, their living and work conditions are in part identical with those of the working class but in part different and closer to those of the petty bourgeoisie Thus the rural proletarians or poor peasants have the double aspect of being small owners on the one hand and wage workers on the other The urban semi-proletarians do not have their own means of production but are distinguished from workers by not carrying out manual work directly related to production and consequently do not usually suffer working conditions as hard as those of the proletariat or work in concentrated conditions as do workers The practical interests of the semi proletariat are practically the same as the working class

The rural semi-proletarians or poor peasants, are numerically important in the rural zones, where decisive battles will have to be fought in a people s war They are vitally interested in the Land Reform which represents the poor peasants most longed for victory Thus they constitute one of the most important sectors of the working people for the triumph of the popular democratic revolution, and the working class s principal ally in revolutionary struggle a main force of the revolution

The rural proletariat is composed of farm workers or rural labourers who have no land and are forced to sell their labour in exchange for a wage They number approximately a million and represent 33% of the active rural population About 600 000 of them are hired labourers the rest are permanent workers who to a great extent suffer semi feudal forms of exploitation The urban proletariat consists of 6 2 million factory workers, miners builders, transport workers, and so on Including a further million from other sectors of the urban proletariat they represent 62% of the active urban population

In our country there are approximately 7 2 million proletarians representing 55% of the active national population and thus the most numerous class All of the proletariat suffers the implacable exploitation of the ruling financial and landowning oligarchy and Yankee imperialism There are also sectors of the proletariat exploited by the middle bourgeoisie and the upper layer of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie The proletarian class is linked to the most advanced forms of production and is the vanguard of the social revolution and communism The proletarian class has great capacities for organisation and discipline and outstanding qualities of heroism firmness and self denial The proletariat struggles not only for its own interests but for the liberation of all labouring classes from the yoke of capitalist exploitation The leadership of the popular democratic and anti imperialist revolution in its present stage belongs to the proletariat It follows from what has been said that the principal class contradiction in present Spanish society is the opposition between on the one hand the financial and landowning oligarchy and its Yankee masters, and on the other the various popular classes and sectors the working class the semi proletariat the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of the middle bourgeoisie

End item.

The Teamsters Strike: Settlement or Sell-out?

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters called its first nationwide strike when their three year National Master Freight Agreement expired at midnight, March 31st 440,000 of the 2 lmillion Teamsters struck-a major portion of the over-the-road, long-haul truckers who haul 60% of all U S manufactured goods as well as local warehouse workers and delivery truck drivers Within three days Labor Secretary W J Usery (long-time star negotiator for the U S government) and Teamster boss Fitzsimmons and his negotiating crew came up with a settlement A mail referendum vote was scheduled for the last weeks of April and the Teamsters rank and file were ordered back to work

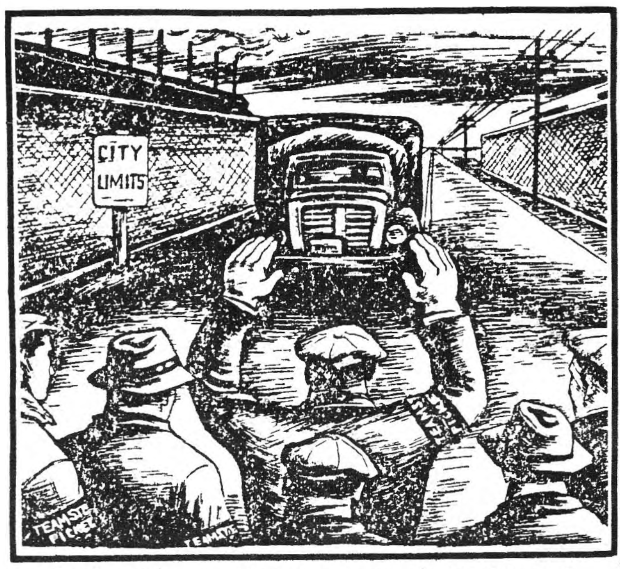
Usery's opinion of the agreement is that it is "in the best interests of the nation, the best interests of the Teamsters and the best interests of the industry " Many rank and file Teamsters disagree The rapid settlement came as President Ford had begun steps to invoke the Taft-Hartley act against the strikers requiring a return to work for an 80-day cooling-off period Although the Taft-Hartley has always been a powerful weapon of the bourgeoisie in opposing militant strike action, in the case of the recent Teamsters strike, it was in the interests of the bourgeois state, the trucking industry, and the Teamsters bosses to avoid such an injunction. Firstly, key contracts scheduled to expire in April and May in the rubber and contruction industries, involve the possibility of seizable wage and benefit hikes-such a precedent would certainly have influenced the Teamster rank and file on the local level and toughened their stand in contract negotiations

Although the Master Freight Agreement is the pace-setter for Teamsters agreements nation-wide and, in addition to the 440,000 workers directly covered, is a strong factor influencing the terms of work for 500,000 other Teamsters and for 40-50% of all unorganized truck drivers, influential Teamster locals have in the past (particularly in Chicago, Ohio, and Los Angeles in 1967 and 1970) won stronger and more generous settlements than the Master Agreement and forced re-negotiation of the nationwide pact

Secondly, a delayed Teamsters settlement would most likely involve a retroactive pay demand against the employers This would have to come out of the corporate pocket since past decisions of the I C C. have denied freight rate increases to companies to cover such costs Thirdly, Fitzsimmons, who is up for re-election at the coming June 14 Teamsters convention in Las Vegas, fears the militancy of his own rank and file, come of whom are urging him to show his stuff by defying and injunction like the Mine Workers union did 25 years ago

The recent "quickie" Teamsters settlement is a glaring example of the collaboration between and mutual interests of the bourgeoisie and their #1 agents in the working class-the trade union bureaucrats Such smooth "united front" work on the part of the bourgeois state, the trucking industry, and the Teamsters bureaucrats was made necessary by the Teamsters rank and file whose reputation for militancy and toughness has been well earned

What makes so many Teamsters militant fighters? The answer lies in their relationship to production



At first glance truckers might hardly be expected to play an advanced role in the struggles of the working class. Working in isolation, taking home a fairly high wage ($7/hour), and even capable of moving out of the class and into the petty-bourgeoisie by purchasing their own means of production(i e their own rig) might not seem the stuff of which advanced workers are made But this is certainly not the case for the bulk of the Teamsters rank and file

Teamsters drivers have had ample experience of their own economic force each time they have withheld their labor-power from the bourgeoisie The transportation sector is of crucial importance to the capitalist economy During the two-day strike alone, 20,000 auto workers were layed-off and it is estimated that the entire auto industry, with its 700,000 workers, would have been shut down inside of a week. Within two weeks, serious shortages of food and gas would have developed nation-wide An eight-week strike would have both cut back the GNP and raised the unemployment rate 8--10%! In addition, the myth of the "independent trucker" is daily being eroded as economic crisis continues to take its toll among the petty-bourgeoisie As the revolutionary struggles of the world's working and oppressed peoples continues to mount and the General Crisis of capitalism continues to deepen, the bourgeoisie must increasingly shift the burden of the crisis to the backs of others Not only are few truckers managing to rise out of the working class for very long but those who have are finding themselves hard put to keep from being pushed back into the proletariat In addition, unemployment and reduction of real wages through inflation has hit truckers like the rest of the class

Many truck drivers, in addition to the militancy, demonstrate a high level of bas class consciousness. Their mobility gives them a far ranging picture of the interrelationship of different industries and economic sectors and of the features of capitalist exploitation beyond the individual work-place Like production workers they see the immense value of the goods they handle, the relative meagerness of their own and other workers wages, and the discrepancy between the two

In addition, truckers have a clearer view than many workers of the nature of the state and its role in the service of their bosses Not only have Teamsters learned the same lessons regarding the real function of Taft-Hartley, the farce of OSHA, and the NLRB as other industrial workers, but must face additional daily harrassment on the job by the police and courts Faced with hard driving conditions, long hours, and rigorous deadlines as wage slaves for the bourgeoisie, drivers frequently must bear alone the burden of traffic citations and violations for faulty and unsafe equipment Three moving violations and you're out for the year- and no disability pay, in some cases.

The Teamsters are big and growing branching out into many different areas Nurses and office workers are becoming Teamsters, the San Francisco deputy sheriffs, Massachusetts and Iowa police, maids in Arkansas and construction laborers in Pennsylvania, production workers at Continental Can and Electrical Storage Batteries Inc They are rapidly expanding into the Black Belt South where truckers, who are mainly Black, have traditionally been unorganized and paid low wages and benefits This is an effort to capitalize on the growing militancy of the Black Nation, and Black workers in particular, as crisis-ridden U S industries implement their "Southern Rim strategy" of moving their operations into areas of low wages and low level of unionization like the Black Belt South in a frantic effort to maintain their profits The Teamsters are already the largest union in the country with over 2 million members and over 60 million dollars in assets The Secretary Treasurer of the union recently boasted that 1 out of every 100 Americans is a Teamster and, counting dependents, represent over 10 million people'

Clearly the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is a major mass organization for U S workers, which must be recaptured and transformed into a weapon for class struggle, for advancing the struggle of the working class toward its own dictatorship under the leadership of its vanguard communist party

The work of communists in the trade unions requires a thorough understanding of how the class struggle manifests itself both in its generalities and its particularities The pivot of our tactics in the workers' movement is the struggle against the labor aristocrats and the trade union bureaucrats - the main social props and agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class We must understand both their general role within the class as a whole and the particular forms this takes within particular unions in order to provide the basis for their thorough exposure, the smashing of their influence among the masses of workers, and their expulsion from the ranks of the labor movement altogether.

The main social basis of the labor aristocracy in the U.S is the narrow craft type unions As these arose in the late 18th and the 19th century, they were among the first sectors of labor to organize to wage struggle against the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, their own particular material conditions frequently led them to take the opportunist stand of defending their own narrow interests against those of the masses of unskilled workers, included among which were many women, children and oppressed nationalities and national minorities On the basis of narrow craft interests there existed dual contradictions both between the craft workers and the bourgeoisie and between the craft workers and the rest of the working class (the unskilled workers, who threatened to undermine the monopolization by craft workers of their own particular trade) This was fertile ground for the creation under monopoly capitalism of a labor aristocracy. With the superprofits provided by imperialist plunder the bourgeoisie came to bribe this stratum of the class, to buy it and to bind it to its own interests. This narrow stratum no longer has a dual nature but is thoroughly consolidated in the defense of bourgeois ideology

The Teamsters in particular arose in 1899 as the Team Drivers International Union, an A F of L union organized to defend the needs and interests of a relatively skilled sector of the workforce This sector of the workforce, team drivers, in performing the difficult and hazardous work of transporting and protecting traders and property developed a sense of narrow craft solidarity and elitism which tended to separate it from other workers

From his rise in 1907 as President of the Teamsters until the 1930s, Dan Tobin fought to maintain this craft character of the Teamsters, even as the material conditions for this "skilled worker" narrowness were being eroded He opposed the organization of warehouse workers, for example, and continued a long-standing union opposition to organizing Blacks

In sum, much of the historical basis for the narrow opportunist craft outlook which has come to be centered in the construction trades, also exists among a stratum of transportation workers and thus among some of the Teamsters

Communists must concretely analyze this important group of workers and determine precisely where the labor aristocrats are located - that narrow stratum which has consolidated its stand in the interests of the bourgeoisie on the basis of its particular relationship to production, its inordinate-high wages and its privileged social status (see COMMUNIST LINE No 7 for a more detailed discussion of the labor aristocracy) It is out of this stratum that arise many of the sold-out union leaders entrenched in the labor movement Although this is not to say that every local union official is thoroughly reactionary, the top-ranking bureaucrats are something else

Although Jimmy Hoffa was and still is admired by many Teamster rank and file for his militancy, this does not belie his role as an agent of imperialism Hoffa kept close contact with rank and file Teamsters They knew they could almost always talk to him personally in his office, see him show up at some small company to deal with local union struggles, or even on the picket line with a baseball bat to deal with scabs and cops

Trade union militancy can serve as a good cover. Hoffa's role, like the rest of the trade union bureaucracy, was to divert the workers' movement from its revolutionary goals and confine it to the purely economic struggle, to "pure and simple trade unionism." They have sold out the long-range interests of the class for the immediate interests of a few This is the essence of opportunism

The situation with Fitzsimmons is the same as all trade union bureaucrats Since his election in 1967, he has consistently upheld the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie In the March 1976 issue of the INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER, Fitzsimmons writes:

> *"It is pretty easy these days when life has become so complicated to let one's principles and dedication become fuzzy and murky But organized labor cannot lose sight of the fact that a job for a worker is what it is all about certainly, organized labor should be writhing, screaming and demanding until this nation adopts a program to put Americans back to work We can settle for nothing else, for to do so is to abandon the nation's greatest need "*

Fitzsimmons wants a new "new Deal" for workers in which all those out of work would be given public service jobs. He also, however, opposed the right for these same workers to strike if "public safety" is involved' In fact, when asked shortly before the recent April 1st strike if the government has the power to step in in case a Teamster strike paralyzed the country, he replied, "Yes, just as it does in case of a strike involving the railroads or the waterway shipping companies " This is no "new" deal, but the same old class collaboration with which the trade union bureaucrats have countered the movements of the working class since Marx and Engels wrote of the rise of opportunism in the British labor movement in the 19th century

In 1970, the growing gap between the Teamster bureaucrats and rank and file workers resulted in the widescale rejection of a three year national freight hauling agreement After 12 weeks of wildcatting by Teamsters across the country, employers in Chicago capitulated, undermining the entire national contract and forcing a wage increase 2/3 higher than the Teamster bureaucrats and the trucking industry capitalists had originally agreed to

In view of all this, the recent Teamster settlement comes as no surprise The resulting contract fell so far short of original wage demands that major trucking groups (including the Eastern Central Motor Carriers Assoc and Middle Atlantic Conference Rate Bureau) went back to the Interstate Commerce Commission and dropped their requested rise in hauling rates 1%, "as the final result produced a lower cost rise than originally projected'" (WALL STREET JOURNAL, 4/6/76)

The tasks of communists as regards such traitors as Fitzsimmons are clear We must expose them, smash their influence and oust them from the ranks of the working class once and for all All talk of forcing these bureaucrats to take a progressive stand or of uniting with them strategically can only aid them in their slimy work as capitalist agents among the proletariat The trade union bureaucracy must be seen as an integral part of the bourgeois apparatus for class violence

Fitzsimmons himself, in addition to I.W Abel, president of the United Steel Workers, Murray M Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' International Union, Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, Leonard Woodcock, of the United Auto Workers, and George Meany of the AFL-CIO, was named by president Ford to serve on a white house Labor-Management committee, as part of the government's program to attempt to control inflation

In addition, Fitzsimmons is one of five labor leaders named by president Ford to the newly chartered National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality. Such examples are rampant.

The trade unions, as the basic organizations of the working class, are crucial to the success of proletarian revolution and cannot be side-stepped or ignored because of the reactionary nature of their present leadership

The recent Teamsters' two-day strike has served to underline the particular importance of the Teamsters union in this regard The demonstrated economic significance of transportation and the unions which have organized it makes this sector a prime target for communist work in opposing the war preparations of the bourgeoisie and in recapturing the union in the interests of proletarian revolution

Trucks play a key role in transporting manufactured goods and haul 3/4 of goods moved by all modes of transportation For example, trucks haul 91% of office and accounting machines, 81% of clothing and aircraft parts, 76% of engines, turbines and electronic goods, 55% of tires and inner tubes (based on 1967 Census of Transportation figures)

Trucks also carry more of the nation's raw and refined materials than ever before By illustration, the trucking industry handles 92% of the sand and gravel, 74% of crushed stone, 83% of Portland cement, 57% of anthracite coal and 39% of refined petroleum products

Work within the Teamsters, however, cannot be limited to the drivers alone Factory nuclei must be built to lead the struggle among warehouse workers in large plants(particularly associated with auto, oil, coal, steel, electronics and the production of machinery and of the means of transportation), among dockworkers and to the extent that the Teamsters are organizing them, among production workers. Over-the-road truckers and even to some extent local truckers will prove most important, especially in the event of war, and when we can be certain that in large trucking firms and the airlines, railroads and merchant marine will be requisitioned by the government for the transport of military personnel and equipment Trade union fractions will play an especially important role among these highly mobile workers

The recent Teamsters strike must be seen as holding a two-fold lesson, one being that communist work in the class cannot be limited entirely to factory work situations. On the basis of a correct understanding of the capitalist economy as a whole, we must recognize the relative importance of each of the sectors of the economy and adapt tactics to concrete conditions Secondly, that the ability of the trade union bureaucrats, in co-laboration with the bourgeoisie, to undercut the struggles of the rank and file and pull "April Fools" tricks on the working class must be defeated

In the present period when political line is key and theory is decisive, Marxist-Leninists must (1) unite to thoroughly analyze concrete conditions in the light of historical proletarian experience, (2) further develop political line to lead the class in unified action and in particular a correct line on work among the workers organized into trade unions and (3) build a genuine Marxist-Leninist party which will raise these struggles to a higher level and mark a fundamental advance in the fusion of the workers' and communist movement in the United States

CLASS STRUGGLE SHARPENS IN CHINA

It is clear, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" in China The recent counter-revolutionary demonstrations in Tien An Men Square, the attempt to reverse the historic course charted by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, all point to the fact that imperialism and bourgeois reaction are doing all they can to exert internal and external pressure on Great Socialist China, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party of China and the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung

The recent counter-revolutionary acts in China were aimed squarely at the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Communist Party of China and all the cadres and masses who faithfully adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line These events are an extremely sharp lesson in class struggle The "General Program" and taking the three directives as the key link advanced by the capitalist-roaders contained the proposal to alter the Party's basic line and bring about an all round restoration of capitalism, turning upside down the relationship between "commanding and commanded in the relations between revolution and production and between politics and the economy " In short, these die-hard schemes sing the dead songs of all past capitalist-roaders, promoting a theory of productive forces

They deny that the key link in the historical period of socialism is class struggle and seek to undermine the proletarian dictatorship by reversing the correct verdicts won by hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in struggle against bourgeois reaction

These recent events should be a warning to all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and progressive people around the world to pay close attention to the deepening class struggle in China, heighten our vigilance against the two superpowers, and deepen the friendship between the people of the U S and the People's Republic of China

In addition to the efforts of a small handful within China to turn around the verdict of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants and to follow the road of Krushchevite revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, there has emerged a full international campaign against the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tsetung, led and orchestrated by the modern revisionists, social democrats and liberals of all hues, supported materially by monopoly capitalism

This campaign promotes the bourgeois lies that everything is unstable in China, that there is a power struggle in the party, that the future is uncertain, etc These illusions were widely spread during and after the recent Fourth National Peoples Congress, particularly in Europe

Recently, with the sharpening of contradictions in Africa in general, and Angola in particular, these same reactionaries are suggesting that China failed to fulfill her proletarian internationalist duty, supported only one of the national-liberation movements, conciliated with South African presence in Angola, is now isolated in the world and lacks ties with national-liberation movements. All such lies and distortions are not merely the ravings of confused liberals, but a carefully generated plan to intensify the bourgeois attack upon the Communist Party of China

The MLOC would make a fundamental distinction between those who, out of honest confusion, supported only the MPLA, while at the same time calling for the removal of Soviet, Cuban and South African troops from Angola and Africa, recognizing the international leadership of the Communist Party of China, and counter-revolutionaries who suggest that the principal danger to the African people is other than Soviet social-imperialism, who suggest that the puppet Cuban troops were fulfilling their internationalist duty, or suggest that China is isolated now and without any friends This latter group of anti-communists cannot be considered merely confused, but to be objectively taking up the line of Soviet social-imperialism As comrade Enver Hoxha stated, "A fool's foolishness, even of a political character, may be excused once, but when it is repeated many times over, then this is a line "

The Central Committee of the MLOC calls upon all Marxist-Leninists, militant workers, revolutionary intellectuals, farmers and other progressive strata to heighten our vigilance against the campaign of internal and external pressure being conducted against the Great Socialist China

Once in recent memory such a campaign succeeded, temporarily, in the restoration of capitalism in the U.S S R As the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao have pointed out, this must be resolutely guarded against in China at all costs, against those who "wear a Chinese coat but walk the Russian road "

The Central Committee of the MLOC calls upon all revolutionary-minded people to lend their full support to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Hua Kuo-Feng, the new vice-chairman of the CC of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China We must spare no effort to deepen and expand the bonds of friendship between the people of China and the United States, between the Communist Party of China and all Marxist-Leninists of this country, AND HEIGHTEN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND THEIR THREAT OF IMPERIALIST WAR.

We recognize that the efforts by bourgeois reaction, both internal and external, are bound to intensify as the crisis of capitalism deepens. It is their logic to "make trouble, fail, make trouble, fail again "

It is the proletarian internationalist duty of all revolutionary and progressive forces worldwide to uphold and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat in China

We take a positive lesson from the fact that it was primarily the worker militiamen, in coordination with the Peoples Police and the Peoples Liberation Army guard, on order from the Peking Revolutionary Committee, who took resolute measures to enforce the proletarian dictatorship. This is a clear expression of the genuine nature and strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China

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